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Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?

REPORT OF THE 16th ANNUAL
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM

AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA
NEW YORK CITY
OCTOBER 20, 21 and 22, 1947

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Modern Man:
Slave or Sovereign?

"Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win."

CARL SANDBURG

Photographs from: Herald Tribune—Kell, Rice, Warman; Drucker-Hilbert; Philip C. Humphrey

View of the audience at the first session of the New Yor
Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder is speaking

rald Tribune's Sixteenth Annual Forum, October 20, 1947.
"Thrift—Keynote to National Stability and Expansion."

Foreword

It is perhaps indicative of the uncertainty in which we live that this year's Forum theme, "Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?" ended with a question mark.

Each year the Forum programs have centered on one over-all subject designed to provoke discussion on the basic issue of the times.

This year a major concern of men everywhere is the quickened cooling that is spreading cracks in the "One World" that war welded. Misunderstanding between East and West appears to be more than a problem of balance of power politics or of conflicting economic interests. It has to do with the conflict of belief about man's need for freedom as an individual. Thus, the 1947 Forum attempted some questioning about the destiny of modern man in terms of certain immediate issues that can increase man's sovereignty, or diminish it.

The program first considered America's own problems of liberty—the disenfranchised residents of the District of Columbia, the struggle for statehood by residents of Alaska and Hawaii, the experiment in democracy in occupied Japan, and the problem of universal military training.

Turning next to the spiritual problems all men share, the Forum brought together leaders and outstanding spokesmen of the three great religions of the West, as well as a representative of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, an anthropologist, a philosopher and a theologian, to discuss spiritual contributions to the strength of man. Basic to the discussion was Lecomte du Noüy's statement that "Unless a man is free to choose between good and evil he cannot co-operate toward his own evolution, cannot improve himself deeply from within."

Following the discussion of spiritual forces that make men free, the Forum focused attention on the economic factors that determine the strength and productivity of the American free enterprise system, and thus the economic freedom of the individual. After an introductory definition of what our economy is, labor and management leaders discussed the problem of keeping American economy both free and strong. A presentation of the new American "imperialism" of rehabilitation rather than exploitation, and a statement of the strength American economy derives from its diversity, flexibility and resilience, linked our national economy to current international economic problems.

In an attempt to present new information about these problems,

the Forum platform brought together the United States Secretary of State and leaders from England, France and the Low Countries who reported on the progress of economic reconstruction now taking place in Western Europe in connection with the Marshall proposals. For a first hand account of the state of mind and economy in eastern Europe, a team of Herald Tribune foreign correspondents returned to tell the Forum audience the results of their recent explorations "Behind the Iron Curtain."

The Forum concluded with a reminder of the economic aid which Western Europe gave during well over a century to the United States when we in this country were struggling to become a free and strong nation of sovereign men.

This year's Forum was the sixteenth in an annual series which originated in 1930, as the paper's answer to a request by club women for guidance in planning their season's programs. Each year since then, the Forum has continued to broaden its audience which is made up of delegates from educational institutions and national, local and business organizations. Through program material presented to these delegates the Forum has been able to provide subject matter and source material on urgent public issues for smaller local forums in clubs, schools, and colleges throughout the country.

Delegates from more than two hundred colleges, and from three hundred and fifty national, local and business organizations representing every state in the Union, made up the audience at this year's sixteenth annual Forum. The entire proceedings were broadcast by television in the New York area over station WNBT and relayed in part to television audiences of WPTZ in Philadelphia, WRGB in Schenectady and WNBW in Washington. A total of four and one half hours of the Forum program, broadcast over the networks of the American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, the Mutual Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company, reached audiences from coast to coast. An additional two hours of the Forum program reached Eastern audiences through stations WMCA and WNYC. In co-ordination with CBS and NBC short-wave divisions, the special events unit of the International Broadcasting Division of the Department of State recorded the entire Forum and rebroadcast portions of it to all parts of the world in twenty-six different languages. World Wide Broadcasting Foundation's short-wave station WRUL also recorded portions of the program for rebroadcast to Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South America. A complete record of the more than six hundred men and women who have spoken at the sixteen annual Forums, together with a list of books by this year's speakers and suggested reading on the 1947 Forum theme appear at the end of this volume.

Man is on the way.
Man will yet win.

FIRST SESSION

Monday, October 20, 1947, 7:45 P.M.

America's Problems of Liberty

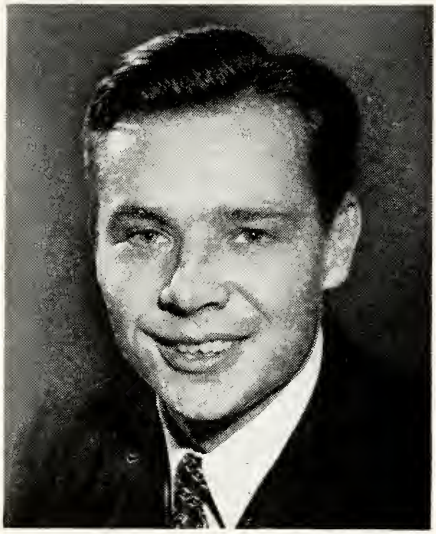
Mrs. Ogden Reid

President of the New York Herald Tribune

Opening the Forum

MRS. REID: There are a few minutes before we go on the air and I want to tell you how good it is to see again this remarkable gathering. Some of you are old friends of the Forum—many are here for the first time—and all of you are forces for public opinion in your own communities. Because you are representative of the whole country—Alaska and Hawaii as well as the 48 States—you provide an important audience for our speakers. They respect you and you in turn will have the benefit of their specialized knowledge. They will bring you authoritative information from their fields of work that will help in clarifying some of our problems. I am sure that there will be mutual inspiration from you and from the distinguished men and women on the program.

The Forum's theme, "Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?" ends with a question mark. It points to the individual's opportunity to remain shackled with old handicaps, or to go forward in co-operative effort toward a better life.



Robert Shaw

Director, Collegiate Chorale

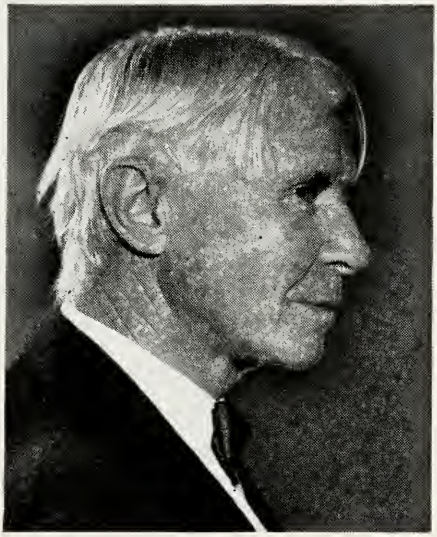
Accompanied by William Jonson

No organization typifies more completely the combination of freedom and responsibility that the title offers than the singers who will open the Forum tonight. They are a small segment of the remarkable Collegiate Chorale that has sung, two hundred strong, at our last session every year since 1943. They are the essence of individual liberty and group solidarity working together.

In the words of their young conductor, Robert Shaw, they are "democracy set to music." Because of this we believe that their voices can give a special lift to our thinking during the hours ahead.

. . .

The Star Spangled Banner ..... *Francis Scott Key*
(Arranged by Simeone)
Toward the Sun ..... *Earl Robinson*
Freedom Train ..... *Irving Berlin*
(Arranged by Warnick)
America, the Beautiful ..... *Bates*
(Arranged by Shaw)



Carl Sandburg

Poet and Author

MRS. REID: The sixteenth New York Herald Tribune Forum is opening in the capital of the world. This is a challenge to any activity that is physically and spiritually a neighbor of the United Nations, and a stark responsibility. Our program will not deal with specific problems of the United Nations but with the force that underlies all it is striving for, that motivates the universal surge for human unity. The over-all subject, "Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?" applies to the individual, the nation or the world, with the answer in the grip of man himself.

At a time when the earth seems close to a precipice, when harsh words are a habit, we lose sight of a great truth. For the first time in history people are thinking in terms of the whole world and all humanity. Places that used to exist only on colored maps of Siberia, India, the South Seas, are part of today's vocabulary, and we know that human beings wherever are mankind. Man is the world miracle. Shall he live a slave to prejudice, to ill-will toward some, or shall he become sovereign over wide horizons through active co-operation and a will to be friends with all? A great American poet, Carl Sandburg, has stated the case with such power that we believe nothing could better carry to you the strength, the confidence and the hope than his words in "The People, Yes." He has come from his home in North Carolina to dedicate our program.

Man Will Yet Win

From "The People, Yes"

Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win.
. . . one hears "Yes but the people what about the people?"
Sometimes as though the people is a child to be pleased or fed
Or again a hoodlum you have to be tough with
And seldom as though the people is a caldron and a reservoir
Of the human reserves that shape history . . .

"Man will never write,"
they said before the alphabet came
and man at last began to write.
"Man will never fly,"
they said before the planes and blimps
zoomed and purred in arcs
winding their circles around the globe.

"Man will never make the United States
of Europe
nor later yet the United States of the World,
"No, you are going too far when you talk about one
world flag for the great Family of Nations,"
they say that now.

Between the finite limitations of the five senses
and the endless yearnings of man for the beyond
the people hold to the humdrum bidding of work and food
while reaching out when it comes their way
for lights beyond the prison of the five senses,
for keepsakes lasting beyond any hunger or death.

And man the stumbler and finder, goes on,
man the dreamer of deep dreams,
man the shaper and maker,
man the answerer.

The first wheel maker saw a wheel, carried
in his head a wheel, and one day found his
hands shaping a wheel,-the first wheel.

The first wagon makers saw a wagon, joined
their hands and out of air, out of what
had lived in their minds, made the first wagon.

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One by one man alone and man joined
has made things with his hands
beginning in the fog wisp of a dim imagining
resulting in a tool, a plan, a working model . . .

The people will live on.
The learning and blundering people will live on.
They will be tricked and sold and again sold
And go back to the nourishing earth for rootholds,
The people so peculiar in renewal and comeback,
You can't laugh off their capacity to take it.

Man is a long time coming.
Man will yet win.
Brother may yet line up with brother:

There are men who can't be bought.
The fireborn are at home in fire.
The stars make no noise.
You can't hinder the wind from blowing.
Time is a great teacher.
Who can live without hope?

In the darkness with a great bundle of grief
the people march.
In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for
keeps, the people march:
"Where to? what next?"

Lincoln? he was a dreamer.
He saw ships at sea,
He saw himself living and dead
in dreams that came.

He spoke one verse for then and now:

"If we could first know where we are,
and whither we are tending,
we could better judge
what to do, and how to do it."

The people learn, unlearn, learn,
a builder, a wrecker, a builder again,
a juggler of shifting puppets.

In so few eyeblinks
In transition lightning streaks,

the people project midgets into giants,
the people shrink titans into dwarfs.

Faiths blow on the winds
and become shibboleths
and deep growths
with men ready to die

for a living word on the tongue,
for a light alive in the bones,
for dreams fluttering in the wrists.

The free man willing to pay and struggle and
die for the freedom for himself and others

Knowing how far to subject himself to
discipline and obedience for the sake of
an ordered society free from tyrants,
exploiters and legalized frauds—

This free man is a rare bird and when you
meet him take a good look at him and try
to figure him out because

Some day when the United States of the Earth
gets going and runs smooth and pretty there
will be more of him than we have now.

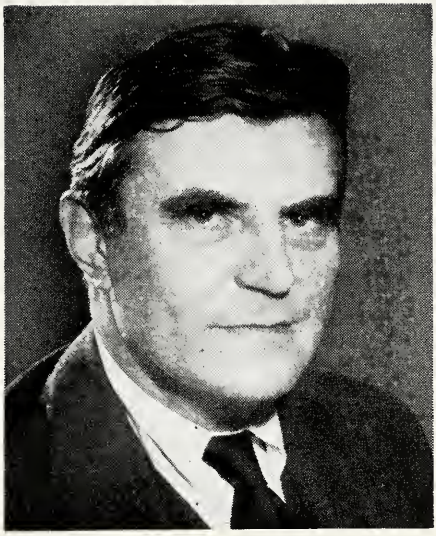
The scaffolding holds the arch in place
till the keystone is put in to stay.
Then the scaffolding comes out.

Then the arch stands strong as all the
massed pressing parts of the arch
and loose as any sag or spread
failing of the builders' intention, hope.

"The arch never sleeps."
Living in union it holds.

So long as each piece does its work
the arch is alive, singing, a restless choral.

The sea moves always, the wind moves always.
They want and want and there is no end
to their wanting.
What they sing is the song of the people.
Man will never arrive, man will be always on the way.



John G. Winant

Former United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James's

MRS. REID: An old friend of the Forum has come home tonight.

His record of national service has ignored party lines for he has cared primarily about good government regardless of whether the party in power was Democratic or Republican. His basic creed has been "Without social justice there can be no peace."

As the youngest state executive when he was elected Republican governor of New Hampshire for three successive terms, his program was far-reaching in social legislation.

In his work as the first head of the Social Security Board and later Director of the International Labor Office in Geneva, the emphasis always was on human rights first and property rights second.

While Ambassador in London during the war years and at the conferences in Cairo and Teheran, he was a firm and forceful spark-plug of the allied effort, but only those on the inside knew his quiet strength. After serving as United States representative on the United Nations Economic and Social Council, he returned to life as a private citizen to write the important record of his closeness to the war. The first book was published this fall. The second will appear next spring.

I present to you a great statesman who loves his country, who

believes in world unity and who should have many years ahead of service to the country. John Gilbert Winant.

MR. WINANT: We have been moved by music. It has carried individual man beyond himself as he marched to serve an idea or a nation, and with emotion that spilled beyond frontiers. We have listened to a poet and a prophet: "Man is a long time coming; man will yet win." Why can a man write like that? Why was it given to him to write the great story of Lincoln? Why are you moved by it? Why do you feel? It is because we all understand the deeper wants and worth of man, not here alone but everywhere. It is because we believe together in the "sovereign man."

The sponsor of this great conference defined for me her interpretation of the subject: "Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?" "The growth of the individual from slave to sovereign means to me," she said, "a development of responsibility and the will to co-operate for the good of the many. The slave to prejudice and old patterns knows only his own limited troubles. The sovereign man sees an expanded world and an increased dignity for the individual." In relation to this broad subject, we discuss tonight America's Problems of Liberty.

James Russell Lowell some seventy years ago said that "We have been compelled to see what was weak in democracy as well as what was strong. We have begun obscurely to recognize that things do not go of themselves, and that popular government is not in itself a panacea, is no better than any other form except as the virtue and wisdom of the people make it so, and that when men undertake to do their own kingship, they enter upon the dangers and responsibilities as well the privileges of the function."

We have gone a long way since then, because of the "virtue and the wisdom of the people," and because we have maintained the sovereignty of the individual. We have today the greatest opportunity in our history. We are a nation of 140,000,000 people, wanting peace, and at the same time the greatest military power on earth. We are the most productive nation in the useful things that serve mankind, whether machine-made or soil-grown, and with a greater sense of human solidarity than ever before.

I have often thought that if after the last war 2,000 of us out of the 2,000,000 who fought in France had volunteered to help the children of Germany, we might have avoided this war, because peace is a personal caring, as well as collective action. We did not think to do that, but returned home to mind our own business and enjoy our personal happiness, only to see our own sons again on distant battlefields. I had hoped that we might join the League of Nations in an effort to join with other allies in keeping the peace. We did not do that. Today there are thousands of our citizens and representatives

of our government all over the world working for rehabilitation, and we are members of the United Nations which is in residence in this great metropolis.

In thinking of the modern man, you have also been thinking of the whole man, for you are not only discussing national and international politics, but also the spiritual and the economic.

I was interested in reading a short time ago the observations of an historian who wrote that: "Men have lived by spiritual institutions of some kind in every society, and also by political institutions and by economic activities. Admittedly they have at different periods tended to put their trust mainly in one of the three as the real cement of society, but at no time have they wholly excluded the others, because it is impossible to do so."

These three still mark the highway of life. They are the compelling forces that control the future. I believe that if we want to comprehend the present man in the world of today, wherever he may live, so that we may give sympathetic leadership in the world, we should not only study world politics and world economics, but also the religions of the world.

I have only one comment to make on your discussions of a "free economy" at this time, and it is in the nature of a warning. A new danger in the aftermath of the present war, to private enterprise here and to peace abroad, is unprecedented profits in combination with the high costs of the necessities of life. It creates dissension at home and runs counter to our foreign policy. The worker who cannot buy sufficient food for his children at home queries our economic system, and, because of his difficulties, questions our program to export foodstuffs abroad. And yet that same man does not want his children to grow up only to be killed in another war. I am unwilling to believe that the good sense of the people or the co-operation of private business and the government cannot find an answer to this grave problem.

We also are to discuss war and peace. And I would like to put a question to you. Are you doing as much today for peace as you did for this country and civilization in the days of war? I am not.

And yet I believe that if we do not treat peace as seriously as we did war we will never enjoy permanent peace on earth.

And I also believe that whatever is done in the international scene by this great country will depend upon what we, the people of this great country, want. So, I hope that, now that the weariness of war is over and we have been able to return to our normal duties, each and all of us will pick up our share in this effort to bring peace.

I have heard much loose talk of late about the ineptitude of generals to lead this country into the ways of peace. I know no military man in the history of our country who has engaged in politics

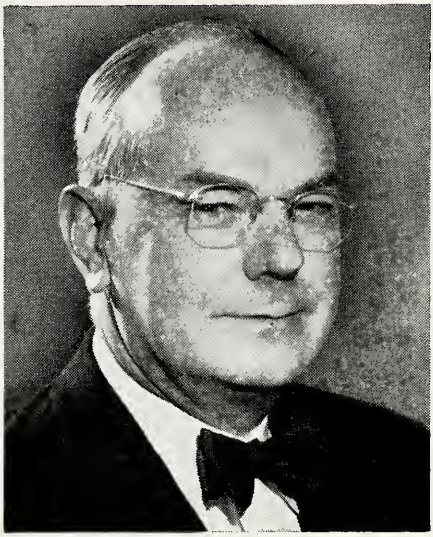
and involved us in war. I know many men in the services who have worked desperately and devotedly to protect us when war came. We might remember the Alabama case. It was the first instance of arbitration between two sovereign powers. It was initiated and concluded in Grant's administration. We sometimes forget our own definition too of "unconditional surrender," and Grant's simple statement at Appomattox: "Let us have peace."

We defended our country when attacked. And we helped others who were attacked. And in so doing we prevented the invader from sweeping free governments and free peoples from the world. And I have always thought that we wanted to do more than that, because we believed, with Donne, that: "No man is an island, entire of itself, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." It is because of that that we built the United Nations, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

And it was because of this belief that recently our Secretary of State announced "that our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos; its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

The people of democracy were united in the common objectives of yesterday—we are committed to this common objective today. We are committed to develop a service democracy. This is the democracy that manned our forces; it is the people's democracy. We must keep it wide and vigorous, alive to need of whatever kind and ready to meet it, whether it be danger from without or well-being from within, always remembering that it is the things of the spirit that in the end prevail; that caring counts, and that where there is no vision people perish; that hope and faith count, and that without charity there can be nothing good; for having dared to live dangerously we are learning to live generously.

Believing in the inherent goodness of man, we can stride forward into the unknown with growing confidence; believing in our own powers, we can accept the responsibility of leadership in the world of tomorrow.



John W. Snyder

Secretary of the Treasury

Thrift—Keynote to National Stability and Expansion

MRS. REID: We now turn to the subject of tonight's session, Problems of American Liberty. Last year we emphasized racial injustice. This evening we want to point up some issues that may be acted on during the months ahead and other basic ones on which we all need to help in developing public opinion. Our first speaker will deal with a subject that is both basic and of vital current importance to our country.

Back in 1918, two young "doughboys" sitting next to each other at an officers' training-school lecture, started a conversation that grew into a close friendship. Twenty-seven years later one of the two, who had just become President of the United States, telephoned the other at a bankers' convention in Mexico City.

"Mr. Roosevelt has just died," he said. "I need you, John."

In a few hours, Mr. Snyder had flown to Washington, and at once became the President's closest adviser. His first appointment was that of Federal Loan Administrator. Later he was Reconversion Director, and finally he succeeded Chief Justice Vinson as head of the Treasury.

Following the Secretary's return from World War I, with a Distinguished Service Medal and the Croix de Guerre, he gained valuable financial experience in the office of the Comptroller of the Currency, as manager of the St. Louis branch of the Federal Loan Agency, as President of the Defense Plants Corporation, and Vice President of the First National Bank in St. Louis. It is high time for the country to know better this important member of the President's cabinet and he has done the Forum great honor by coming so soon after his return from Europe. The Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder.

MR. SNYDER: The world today needs a strong America. This is not boastful. It is a sobering estimate of the responsibilities confronting us.

Your Forum this year is rightly concerned with the question of whether modern man is to be slave or sovereign. Critical as these times seem, this query is one that history keeps constantly asking down through the ages. For man is forever struggling—successfully or unsuccessfully—against forces that would enslave him. Today, whether modern man is to be sovereign or slave depends to a grave extent on what we do here on this side of the Atlantic. Here in the United States can be found that reserve of strength—moral and physical—to balance the scales for free men. But such realization would require full exercise of those virtues of labor and thrift, of sacrifice and co-operation, which have made us powerful as a nation and vital as a progressive influence among the peoples of the world for universal peace.

For, as President Truman has said, "We seek a peaceful world, a prosperous world, a free world, a world of good neighbors, living on terms of equality and mutual respect."

To attain this assured peace and stability, much depends upon the skill and wisdom with which we approach imminent problems. Mankind, in far too many places, is hungry. We can and must help. For hunger is no ally of freedom. The economic machinery of the world is stalled and damaged as a result of war. The machinery must be repaired and started again. We have tools and parts. We have what is just as important—the "know how." Tools and parts are not sufficient in themselves. They may be wasted—thrown away—without the proper guidance. And we have not time to be either reckless or wasteful. We can supply that "know how" and that guidance to make effective the aid we provide. For this aid is in our tradition—a tradition rooted in freedom and enlightened progress.

Freedom and opportunity—these were the basic incentives from which a strong America grew. These same incentives will furnish us strength to uphold our significant position in world leadership. And to the extent to which we can maintain these incentives will lie the

answer as to whether or not at least the modern American will be slave or sovereign.

For the American interpretation of freedom encompasses far more than mere escape from economic or political slavery. We demand a far more positive, a far more substantial, recompense for our efforts.

We hold unfalteringly to the doctrine of man's right to seek his own goal—his own quest for happiness and security. It is the American belief that individual opportunity lies in our system of free enterprise.

Of necessity, our pioneers formed the habit of thrift and savings. In the American tradition these qualities played a tremendous role in developing and insuring our vast structure of private enterprise. The doctrine of "save and invest" has patterned the growth of our industrial system.

It has made us a nation of farm and home owners, of insurance-policy holders, of savings-account and security owners. It has enabled us to realize the full benefit from the great resources of this country. These accomplishments are the direct result of free enterprise, promoted by individual and collective savings.

To the citizen of this nation, savings must be the cornerstone of individual opportunity and security. The small business men of today, so many of whom become the large business men of tomorrow, have started with the expedient investment of their savings—savings that have been built up as a result of thrifty use of income.

I have no fear that our social structure can be destroyed by forces from within, or from without, so long as the tenant can hope to become owner, the worker can aspire to management and the average citizen can find it possible to attain success and security.

And how fortunate we Americans are to be talking tonight of saving a part of our income, compared with the people of the war-stricken countries, so busy obtaining food for today that they can have no thoughts of saving for tomorrow!

In times like these thrift and saving go beyond individual concern. They are a matter of national concern. Today the collective thrift habits of a nation will actively affect every member of a nation's society.

Saving as a national policy should stimulate and encourage intelligent financial thrift habits of individuals.

The government's greatest effort to stimulate savings came with the advent of World War II, in the promotion and sale of savings bonds on a scale never before accomplished.

The magnitude of this achievement is well demonstrated by the fact that savings bonds have been bought by millions of persons.

Beyond its thrift and savings aspects, the bond program has sub-

stantially contributed to combating inflationary forces and to assisting in the proper management of our public debt.

I strongly recommend to the American people the continued purchase of these bonds.

As a national policy, and particularly during times of high income, thrift requires the orderly discharge of debts, whether it be by an individual or by a nation. The policy of the Administration to reduce our debt and to maintain our fiscal affairs on a sound basis is the keystone to our security.

In closing, let me remind you that it required the thrift and savings of many a person, native and foreign, to provide the funds which built our great transportation system, our huge steel industry, our giant oil plant, our magnificent farm, industrial, mining and business structure. It took thrift and savings, together with indomitable courage and energy, to develop our vast natural resources. It took thrift and savings, together with tremendous character and vision, to make our nation what it is today. And it will take thrift and savings, together with constant ingenuity and stamina, to conserve our remaining resources to enable us to continue to be a great nation.

At no time in our history has it been more important for us, as a nation and as individuals, to conserve our resources; for, both at home and abroad, we face large responsibilities which we cannot rightly evade.

I fervently hope that this Forum will reinspire the people of America to a continuation of their earnest efforts through thrift and savings to help themselves, their country and their fellow man.

Philip L. Graham

Publisher, "The Washington Post"

Washington, D.C., the Voteless City

MISS HIETT: A sovereign man must have both the rights and the responsibilities of citizenship. Unfortunately, many native born Americans still have neither.

The President's Commission on Civil Rights, appointed last December, has been considering some of our flagrant failures in this regard. Unfortunately, last minute delay in publication of the Commission's report prevents us from discussing its recommendations.

But we do have a spokesman for the disenfranchised residents of our own national capital.

Philip Graham, young publisher of "The Washington Post," is a crusader for justice for the District of Columbia. His press campaigns have brought reforms in the police department. He is fighting racial segregation in the District. Tonight he has come to tell you of another righteous grievance. Though he has no vote, he has a voice—more power to it! Philip Graham.

MR. GRAHAM: The Constitution of the United States declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States." And it goes on to proclaim that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Well, in the District of Columbia—the seat of the Federal government—there are some 870,000 citizens whose privileges of citizenship have been very markedly abridged, not by any state but by the Federal government itself.

They are denied the right of representation in the legislature which frames their laws—a right defined by our founders in their Declaration of Independence as "inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only."

They are even denied any semblance of local self-rule. Their municipal government, such as it is, consists of appointed pro-consuls neither responsible nor responsive to their will.

Their dependency exceeds by far that of the people of Guam, Puerto Rico or Samoa. Not even the forms of self-government allowed to the conquered Germans and Japanese are granted to the residents of Washington.

This situation has both practical and moral consequences for the people of the United States, as well as for the people of the District of Columbia.

Let us look first at its cost to the nation. The La Follette-Monroney committee on the reorganization of Congress put it this way: "The nation cannot afford the luxury of having its national legislative body . . . perform the duties of a city council for the District of Columbia."

Now, nominally the government of the district consists of a Board of Commissioners of three members. But they are possessed of little real authority.

Actually the greatest control of Washington is held by the District Committees of the House and Senate, although they share substantial power with the District Appropriations Sub-committees of the two Houses. Almost every other Federal official in town has something to say about District government. The president appoints various local officials. The Budget Bureau must approve local bills beings submitted to the Congress. The Secretary of the Interior runs the park system and one of our five separate police forces. The Secretary of the Army runs half the city's water system, while the District Commissioners run the other half. The Civil Service Commission, the Bureau of Standards and some sixty odd other boards and commissions all make contributions. About the only agencies that

leave us alone are the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission and the Alaska Rural Rehabilitation Corporation.

Let me offer an illustration of how the machinery of government operates in Washington. Let me show you how your Senators and Congressmen are forced to use their time because Washington has no local government. Some time ago the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, a Federal body, recommended the removal of two stone gate posts which constituted a traffic hazard in the side street running between the White House and the State Department. The District Commissioners were ready enough to accept the recommendation. But with them to think is not promptly to act.

First it was necessary to secure the approval of the Federal Bureau of the Budget. Next a bill was introduced in the House and referred to the District Committee, which, in the fullness of time, reported favorably. Then the full House pondered and finally passed the proposal.

The Senate, however, was still to be reckoned with. The Senate's District Committee first had to approve the measure. And finally came the day when the greatest deliberative body on earth set aside its consideration of universal military training, of peace treaties and of other "trivial" undertakings, to determine that the two stone gate posts should indeed be removed.

All that remained now was to speed the bill to the White House. At last the bulldozers could be put to work.

There is nothing singular about this rigamarole. The whole involved procedure must be gone through whenever the District needs a simple ordinance. The Seventy-eighth Congress, a war-time Congress, devoted time and attention to fifty-seven separate District bills dealing with such matters as the sale of shad and herring, the disposal of dead human bodies and the provision of butter for patients at St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

You people of the forty-eight states send your representatives to Congress to deal with problems of significance. From your point of view this absurd condition is frustrating your will by demoting your Senators and Congressmen to the level of city councilmen.

From the point of view of the people of the District of Columbia the condition is altogether tragic.

It results inevitably in bad government. The crime statistics of Washington are truly shocking. During the first six months of this year the nation's capital moved to the top of the list among cities of its population grouping in the number of cases of aggravated assault, burglary and petty theft. Yet there is very little that the citizens of the community can do about it. "The Washington Post" showed that not only was the crime rate appalling but that it was being concealed by false statistics and inadequate official reporting. But the superin-

tendent of police is appointed by the commissioners, who are themselves appointed by the President and therefore have no fear of retribution at the polls. When a resolution was offered in the closing days of the last Congressional session for an investigation of the police department a single Senatorial friend of the police superintendent succeeded in blocking it.

And that situation is typical. The people of the District have no control over local officials, none over the allocation of funds for operating local government, and none over the local taxes imposed upon them.

Congress has persistently refused to extend the District income tax to those thousands of government employees who live in Washington, enjoy the facilities of the community, but claim permanent domicile elsewhere. Why? Because the people who claim permanent domicile elsewhere are supposed to be voters and constituents of Congressmen. The District is nobody's constituency.

The moral consequences are still more serious. The people of the District are not incapable of self-government. In point of fact, they comprise a higher percentage of college graduates and high-school graduates than any community in the country. And government is their principal occupation. But the sorry truth is that there has descended upon them to some extent that apathy which is characteristic of dependent peoples everywhere. They tend to submit to absentee rule which is maintained by *force majeure* and to accept conditions which they seem unable to change.

Almost a year ago an unofficial plebiscite on self-government was held in Washington. The results showed to some degree a disappointing lack of enthusiasm for home rule. Although prior to the plebiscite all Washington newspapers put on a drive to get out the vote, the turnout was smaller than it should have been. And a considerable opposition to home rule was indicated. Although 84 per cent of the voters recorded themselves in favor of representation in the Congress, only 70 per cent voted for local self-government. Now while this result shows a tendency to apathy about self-rule, 70 per cent is, after all, an unambiguous majority. And before one gets too smug about Washington, remember that no other city has had so to test community support of self-government.

It must be admitted that there are shabbier reasons than mere apathy behind some of the opposition to home rule for Washington. It would be dishonest to avoid mention of them. In its culture, Washington is essentially a southern city. In the capital city of the world's greatest democracy, formal racial segregation is extensively practiced. Undemocratic racial ideas work with multiplied force in the undemocratic atmosphere of a community deprived of the right of self-government. They work in a vicious circle. The lack of local govern-

ment keeps the citizens from gaining any practical experience in working out racial adjustments on a local level. This begets a climate of ignorance and blind fear which in turn has led many white citizens to be willing to give up the franchise themselves rather than permit the Negro to vote.

After last year's plebiscite a study of the attitude of a cross-section of voters showed that only 1 per cent of Negro voters opposed home rule, whereas more than 40 per cent of white voters opposed it. The fear of Negro domination of the government was the reason most frequently given for opposition to home rule. Yet further examination showed that this fear resulted largely from basic ignorance about the number of Negroes in the community. The 1940 census had found that 28 per cent of Washington's population was Negro, and subsequent studies of the population show that the percentage is still about the same. But one out of every three white residents wildly exaggerated the proportion of Negroes, and it is among those misinformed—fearing a Negro majority that does not exist—that the opposition to local suffrage is highest.

There is a saying in Washington that home rule is like the weather. There are signs, however, that this is now changing, that some one at last is going to do something about it. This summer a subcommittee of the House District Committee, under the chairmanship of Congressman Auchincloss of New Jersey, conducted extensive hearings on home rule and reorganization of district government. The subcommittee's report is now being prepared and we hope that it will recommend legislation establishing home rule.

A prompt end of the present situation must concern not only us in Washington but all of you who have a responsibility for its continuance. It concerns you for two reasons. First, in these times of important decisions, you cannot want your Senators and Congressmen to fritter away their energies passing local ordinances for Washington. And, finally, you cannot desire continuance of the mockery of our principles involved in holding the capital city of this democracy in voteless bondage.

Joseph R. Farrington

Delegate to Congress from Hawaii

Statehood for Hawaii

MISS HIETT: The case for Hawaiian statehood will be presented by one of its leading spokesmen, Joseph R. Farrington, who is now in his third term as delegate to Congress from Hawaii.

Mr. Farrington, President of the "Honolulu Star Bulletin" (son of a newspaper man and former Governor of Hawaii), was born and raised in the islands. After serving eight years in the territorial legislature, he was elected to Congress in 1942. And his first official act was to present a bill to bring Hawaii into the Union.

Throughout his dual career as newspaperman and public official, Mr. Farrington's record has been marked by his very aggressive advocacy of statehood for the islands he now represents. We wish him well. We are confident his goal is near. The Honorable Joseph R. Farrington.

MR. FARRINGTON: The time has come to admit Hawaii to the Union as the forty-ninth state. The people of this territory have demonstrated that they are fully capable of self-government, and they

believe that they have been promised it. They are entitled to their rights as American citizens. These rights can be realized completely and irrevocably only as citizens of a sovereign state.

Granting statehood to Hawaii at this time would greatly enhance the influence of the United States in the Pacific and among all dependent peoples. It would demonstrate our belief in the principles of democracy and self-determination. The House of Representatives recognized the soundness of this policy by adopting on June 30 of this year H. R. 49, the bill providing statehood for Hawaii, and sent it to the Senate, where it is now pending.

To compel the people of this territory to continue in their present status would be not only the violation of a promise, but contrary to the wish of the people themselves, who voted, by a majority of more than 2-to-1, for statehood in a plebiscite in 1940. It would also be positively harmful.

It would weaken the tradition of self-reliance that has marked the development of Hawaii as one of the most progressive and prosperous communities under the American flag. It would invite the enactment of retrogressive measures that would severely injure one of the greatest experiments in democracy ever launched by this country.

To any one who challenges this statement, let me point out that in opposing statehood for Hawaii in a recent article Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president-emeritus of Columbia University, proposed that the people of Hawaii be given a semi-independent status. He would turn back the clock to a form of European colonialism so completely discredited that the people of the Pacific want none of it today. His proposal is positively insulting to a people who are proud, most of all, of their American citizenship. Not a single one of them has even entertained the thought of a government other than one which would identify them, in every respect, as completely American.

Dr. Butler objects, moreover, to Hawaii becoming a state because it is non-contiguous territory. This question was settled in 1900, when Hawaii was incorporated in the Union as a territory and made an integral part thereof by the organic act of 1900. Objections because of distance have long since been eliminated by the development of modern methods of transportation and communication. Hawaii today is closer to Washington than Boston was to Philadelphia at the time of the Continental Congress.

The dangers and uncertainties of the territorial form of government are evident in the serious discrimination suffered by the basic industry of Hawaii. Sugar produced in Hawaii constitutes almost 25 per cent of all the sugar produced under the American flag. But Hawaii is compelled to ship it to the States in its raw form, excepting only a small portion that is consumed locally. This is required under a law that has been on the statute books of our country since 1937,

despite vigorous protests from Hawaii's people. It constitutes a restriction on our trade and commerce that is not only un-American but whose implications hold serious threats to Hawaii's future development.

Under present conditions, a simple act of Congress is all that is needed to reduce Hawaii's people to a status of complete dependency and political slavery. Through a period of more than ten years, the people of this American territory have been threatened successively with government by the Army, Navy, or both; complete disenfranchisement with government by a commission appointed in Washington, and elimination of the residential requirements covering the appointment of our principal executive and judicial officials, which would give Hawaii government by "carpet baggers."

During the war the Army set up a military government under martial law in Hawaii that was without precedent in this country. It was a government patterned after that used in occupied countries. Its abuse of power and violation of fundamental American rights was a scandal. This government was eliminated only after a bitter fight by the civil agencies of the Federal government and has since been roundly repudiated by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The people of Hawaii believe they are entitled to better treatment than this and to the security in their rights as American citizens that can come only with state government.

To deny Hawaii's people statehood because of their racial origin would be the most tragic error of all. It would not only retard the political development of this territory, but seriously bring into question the sincerity of the United States in its professions of democracy. It would weaken the position of the United States at a time when democracy must become dynamic to meet the challenge of Russian communism.

For close to a century now Hawaii has been the great meeting ground of Pacific people. There they have found, in the tradition of the native Hawaiian people, a measure of friendship, tolerance and fair play unparalleled in the world today. These people have come to Hawaii through a period of well over a century, from every one of the forty-eight states, from China, from many countries of Europe, from Japan, and from the Philippines. Each has made an important contribution to the development of these islands. In the American system of free public school education, economic opportunity and political equality, they have found a sound basis for living in happiness and harmony, despite their unusually diverse racial origin.

Today all but a small portion of Hawaii's people are American citizens. The war proved their loyalty beyond the shadow of a doubt. They love this country. The record of the F. B. I. and the Army and Navy Intelligence Services shows that there was no sabotage and no

subversive activities among Hawaii's people. The Americans of Japanese ancestry who composed the 100th Infantry were all from Hawaii. They became the most highly decorated unit in the American Army and were also the spearhead of units formed subsequently of Americans of Japanese ancestry from all parts of the country. They were the product of Hawaii's system of education, economic opportunity, and political equality. They proved, if anything ever proved, that loyalty to this country is not a question of race but of the heart and the mind.

Hawaii, for half a century, has been a lighthouse of democracy in the Pacific. The leaders of free government in the Far East have always found in Hawaii protection and inspiration in their efforts to achieve liberty in their native countries.

In the light of this record, in the light of our declarations in behalf of democracy and self-determination, in the light of our responsibilities for the government of Pacific islands, in the light of our hopes for the Philippines and our objectives in China, and more particularly Korea and Japan—we of the United States cannot afford now to deny to our own people in Hawaii the privileges and responsibilities of democracy that can be achieved only by state government.

Since becoming a part of this country by voluntary annexation in 1898 Hawaii has consistently paid into the Federal Treasury each year more than at least fourteen individual states. The total contribution is far in excess of the money spent by the Federal government in Hawaii, except, of course, the funds spent on national defense.

Government in the territory has been maintained at a high standard throughout this period. Although privileged to do so, Congress has never found it necessary to exercise its right to veto a law passed by the legislature of the territory. Illiteracy is virtually unknown in Hawaii. A large portion of the funds paid in taxes to the government of the territory is used to maintain a system of free public school education which extends even into the most remote rural areas and is far above the standard of many states.

The same high standard prevails in the fields of public health, public works, laws for the protection of labor, law enforcement, and last—but by no means least—finance. Neither the territorial government nor any of its subdivisions has ever defaulted on a bond issue. Their financial rating has always been of the highest.

Hawaii has virtually no absentee landlordism. Its sugar and pineapple industries, monuments to the American system of free enterprise, are owned and controlled by the people of Hawaii. It has many other enterprises and scores of independent businesses that see in these islands, strategically situated at the gateway to the Pacific, great promise for the future.

As far back as 1900 Congress found Hawaii's development so

much in the American tradition that it decided to make the islands a territory of the United States and give the citizens of the Republic of Hawaii citizenship in the United States. In a succession of Congressional investigations into the question of statehood for Hawaii, beginning in 1935, evidence has shown beyond dispute that Hawaii has met all the requirements for statehood asked from other territories upon entering the Union.

The last of these investigations was conducted early this year by the House Committee on Public Lands. The committee decided by unanimous vote to recommend to the House the adoption of legislation enabling Hawaii to become a state. The action of the House in voting approval of this legislation followed on June 30 of this year, and the bill was sent to the Senate, where it is now pending before the Committee on Public Lands.

We of Hawaii have always believed we would be given statehood upon meeting the same requirements that governed the admission to the Union of twenty-nine territories. In the debate on the organic act amendments were offered providing that adoption of this legislation should not be construed as promising statehood to Hawaii at any time in the future. These amendments were rejected in both the Senate and the House. This action is but one of many that have led Hawaii's people to believe they would become a state. This belief has been further fortified by planks in platforms of both major political parties, the utterances of many public officials and the results of investigations carried on by Congress over a long period of years.

President Truman has already recommended statehood for Hawaii. His Secretary of the Interior, Julius A. Krug, who has been very aggressive in supporting legislation for this purpose, has announced that the President would sign the bill passed by the House if it also passes the Senate.

The people of the country are in favor of statehood for Hawaii. A Gallup poll showed this last spring. The enthusiastic response to the favorable action of the House leaves no doubt about it.

Now it remains for the United States Senate to act. The hour of great decision is here.

Hawaii was ceded to the United States by the people of those islands of their own free will. With faith in the future and confidence in the integrity of this country, they placed themselves, their islands and their destiny in the hands of the American people.

Today, after almost fifty years of tutelage, they are prepared for the responsibilities of statehood. They believe this is their right and their destiny. They believe that, as citizens of a state, they will have a vitally important contribution to make to the future of this country. To admit Hawaii to the Union now is in the national interest. It will

enhance the position of our country in the Pacific and among liberty-loving people everywhere.

As American citizens, we ask finally to be admitted to the Union as a matter of simple justice and fair play.

Dorothy Maynor

Soprano

Accompanied by Ludwig Bergmann

MRS. REID: You can now relax your minds and enjoy some beautiful music. The artist who will give us this treat is one of those rare persons who has had "greatness thrust upon her." At fourteen, she entered Hampton Institute, to prepare for a career in home economics. But after a summer spent with the Hampton Choir, traveling the United States and Europe, she returned to discover that the Director of Music at the school had arbitrarily changed her major subject from domestic science to music.

Events were again taken out of her hands, when, after her graduation, she was given a scholarship for three years of advanced study at the Westminster Choir School at Princeton. Also, without her knowledge, friends arranged for Serge Koussevitsky to hear her beautiful voice, and her debut at Town Hall followed immediately. Since then she has made six transcontinental tours, and she returned only a few weeks ago from one in South America.

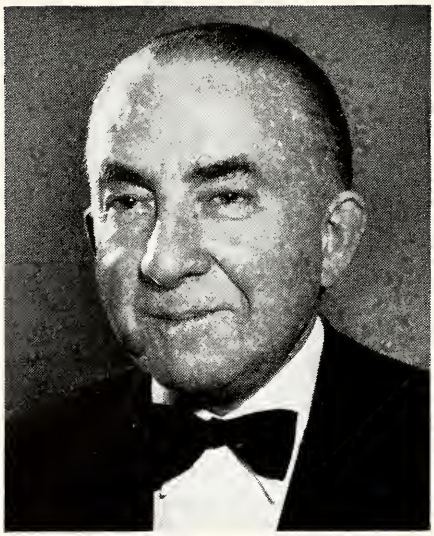
As the wife of Dr. Shelby Rooks, pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church in New York, she has found time outside her professional life to help with many projects for young people, including

symphony work among children. She is a firm believer in the government giving support to the arts, as has long been the fact in other countries.

I am particularly happy that Miss Maynor has consented to honor our program tonight.

. . .

Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child
Brothers, You'll Be Called On
Study War No More
I Come This Day to Sing and Pray



Ernest Gruening

Governor of Alaska

Statehood for Alaska

MRS. REID: The first speaker in this hour on the radio is an exciting person who is doing an exciting job. He was a doctor by training and a newspaper man by choice, but work for the government finally lured him away and in 1934 he joined the Department of the Interior as Director of Territories and Island Possessions.

On first visiting Alaska he said: "I have seen many interesting and beautiful places in the world, but no region ever gave me quite the profound thrill as did Alaska." Five years later he became the Governor.

He is our greatest authority on statehood for this territory and we are especially glad that he has been able to fly down to present his arguments.

I present to you a former editor of the New York Herald Tribune and a distinguished public servant. Governor Ernest Gruening.

GOVERNOR GRUENING: The subject of statehood for Alaska falls most appropriately under the general heading of "Man: Slave or Sovereign." For this alternative bluntly summarizes Alaska's aspiration for statehood. If the people of Alaska are not precisely slaves, their political status and economic condition are more closely akin to serfdom than to sovereignty.

And it is the sovereignty of statehood that Alaskans demanded at the general election last fall, their first opportunity officially to record that desire. So a statehood bill was introduced in the first session of the present Congress, and hearings have been held both in Washington and throughout Alaska.

The reasons for statehood are ample:

First: Alaskans being good Americans and therefore believing that American citizenship is the most precious possession in the world, desire that citizenship in full measure. They do not have it now. They cannot vote for President or Vice-President. They cannot elect senators or a representative with a vote. The Alaska Legislature's powers are limited by obsolete restrictions imposed by Congress thirty-five years ago, many of which Alaskans have sought repeatedly and vainly to have changed.

Second: Statehood is indispensable for the progress and development of Alaska, for a populated, thriving, strong Alaska as our northern and western rampart. That objective has not been cannot be and will not be achieved under territoriality.

Alaska has been under the American flag for eighty years; in fact, just eighty years ago the day before yesterday, the Stars and Stripes replaced the flag of imperial Russia.

In those four-score years, the aboriginal population—Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts—have grown slightly, if at all, and numbers some 30,000. The white population, those who went to Alaska from the forty-eight states, today numbers 60,000. That 60,000 is the total increase in four-fifths of a century of territorialism. In contrast, during that same period, the population of the United States has increased by a hundred million.

In other words, Alaska, with an area one-fifth as large as the United States, vast resources and a climate and physical conditions corresponding to Scandinavia and Finland with their 13,000,000 people, has developed very little. It is my conviction, shared by the majority of Alaskans, that territoriality is the major factor in retarding growth and development.

Alaska's history makes clear that the Federal government's policies for eighty years have been marked by indifference and lack of knowledge. This indictment does not apply to any individual member of either the legislative or executive branches in Washington or to either political party. The failure in Alaska arises from lack of continuity

among the remote rulers of Alaska's destinies and in the circumstances inevitably surrounding far-away control. Alaska suffers from and is throttled by every variety of absenteeism: absentee industry control, absentee labor control, absentee government control.

During the first seventeen years that Alaska was under the flag, from 1867 to 1884, Congress passed just two laws dealing directly with Alaska. One made Alaska a customs' district, and the other gave the rich seal fisheries of the Pribilof Islands as a monopoly to a San Francisco company. This period has been rightfully termed "the era of neglect." During this generation it was not possible to punish crime, to get married legally, to transfer or to deed property. Finally Congress adopted the organic act of 1884. But this act was a misfit. It provided that the code of the State of Oregon should apply to Alaska.

But Oregon had a county system and Alaska had none, and all references to county officials and county functions were therefore wholly inapplicable to Alaska. The Oregon code provided that to be a member of a jury one had to be a taxpayer, and as Congress had provided no taxes from Alaska, there could be no juries in Alaska. The 1884 act, however, did provide a Governor who had neither means nor appropriate law to establish a government, and for the next fourteen years, until practically the turn of the century, the annual reports of four consecutive Governors contained earnest pleas that Congress do something about it. Their pleas went unheeded. They went totally unheeded until the discovery of gold in the Klondike in the late 90's.

When those gold prospectors, coming from every state of the Union, found Alaska without any suitable body of law to make their livelihood secure, they began writing their Representatives and Senators, and Alaska experienced the beginnings of legislation. Not until 1912, however, fourteen years later, did Congress adopt a revised organic act which established a Legislature and confirmed the representation of Alaska in Washington by a voteless delegate.

This act of 1912 was likewise unsatisfactory. It was notable chiefly for what it forbade Alaskans to do. It is under that act, adopted thirty-five years ago, that the territory of Alaska has struggled to this day.

Since that time, for half a century, the economy of Alaska has rested chiefly on two industries, salmon fisheries and gold mining—both at present languishing, partly as a result of Federal policies. Alaska's other vast potentialities have remained undeveloped, chiefly owing to inappropriate laws imposed by Congress, conservation measures which have often not conserved but often have paralyzed, and an economy dominated by absentees whose chief purpose was to extract the wealth of Alaska as rapidly as possible, take it away with

them and leave little or nothing within the territory. During this eighty-year period, Alaska has poured close to $3,000,000,000 into the national economy in the form of fisheries, minerals and furs, thus repaying Seward's original investment some 400-fold, and in addition, paying contemporaneously several times the purchase price annually into the Treasury in Federal income taxes. But very little of that wealth has been plowed back for the development of Alaska.

Eighty years' experience—a period of colonialism longer than that of all but five states—has shown Alaskans conclusively that our territory is a stepchild in the American family. Its voteless delegate can only plead, hat in hand, for the crumbs left on the national banquet table. Far from being, as is often mistakenly assumed, the object of special solicitude by the entire Congress whose ward the territory is, Alaska has been and continues to be the victim of gross discriminations. Alaska, alone among the states and territories, has been excluded from the Federal Highway Act. The share of road funds during the last quarter of a century, denied Alaska, has been estimated at $300,000,000.

While only fifty-four miles away, across Bering Straits, the Soviets are pushing the limits of agriculture farther and farther north, producing new strains of grains and new crops, with agricultural experiment stations every hundred miles, and establishing a permanent farm population to support a new industrial, mining and military development; in Alaska, on the contrary, Congress has for years withheld the agricultural funds which, under its own acts Alaska was and is entitled to.

Alaska is handicapped by excessive maritime transportation rates —the highest in the world, in fact—imposed by what has become virtually a one-man owned absentee shipping monopoly, a monopoly fostered and permitted by unseen men in distant Federal agencies.

This monopoly is intensified by the Maritime Act of 1920, authored by Senator Jones of Seattle, which specifically discriminates against Alaska. The Supreme Court of the United States, when appealed to, found that Congress had the right to discriminate against a territory.

Alaska's air rates from the states are double those which the same carriers charge elsewhere. Our protests go unheeded. The list of these discriminations is long. But what I desire to point out is that the situation grows worse, not better, and that right now, when Alaska's development is more imperative than ever before, we are being deprived of basic necessities in fields beyond our territorial jurisdiction and control.

With 15,000 miles of coastline, more than 7,000 miles longer than that of the entire United States, a coast not yet completely charted or buoyed, a coast subject to more weather than any other under the

flag, with a population chiefly deriving its livelihood from the sea and depending upon and cherishing the service of its Coast Guard, Alaska lost, following the retrenchments of the last Congress, its Coast Guard District, whose headquarters have been removed to and consolidated with the Seattle district, 700 miles south of our southernmost point.

For twenty-five years territorial legislatures have memorialized the Congress to turn over the control and conservation of the fisheries to Alaska. Congress has turned a deaf ear! Presumably this great national asset, the Pacific salmon, was too valuable to be turned over to territorial management. Yet, despite every plea, reiterated annually, Congress has never appropriated enough to safeguard this valuable resource which has now, after a quarter of a century of Federal control, become so depleted that within the last month Alaskans were warned that commercial fishing may have to be suspended in southeastern Alaska next year.

One final illustration, the administration of justice—keystone of a democratic system. For more than half a century Alaska has sought to get the Federal government, which has retained control of the judiciary in Alaska, to abolish its disgraceful system of unpaid United States Commissioners who dispense justice in some sixty-odd smaller communities throughout Alaska.

The issue is not even controversial. In 1914 Hudson Stuck, Archdeacon of the Yukon, second ranking Episcopalian churchman in Alaska, called it "vicious" and a "crying evil," and wrote that for twenty years—which takes us back to 1894—every Federal administration had been urged to reform it. Bills sponsored by the responsible executive agencies have been hopefully introduced into Congress again and again, but aways die before enactment. Do we require better evidence of Alaska's need for the sovereignty of statehood?

That conclusion has been greatly hastened by the rediscovery of Alaska, which took place incidental to World War II. At its outbreak Alaska was defenseless. The famous warning of General Billy Mitchell that "he who holds Alaska holds the world" had gone unheeded. As late as 1939 the only military or naval installation in Alaska was an infantry post manned by 200 men, dating from the gold rush days. For years our delegate in Congress had been pleading for an adequate military and naval program in Alaska, but little attention is paid to the warnings of a voteless delegate.

In consequence, Alaska was the only part of the American continent to suffer invasion, which required a vast campaign, costly in the expenditure of men, ships and materiel to expel it. There is little question that had Alaska been a sovereign state at that time, and its defense need presented with the cogency which two United States senators could have given it, the Aleutian campaign would never have

taken place and American lives would have been saved. Today Alaska is even more important strategically than during the second world war.

Consider that Alaska is the only part of the American continent which stretches westward into the Eastern Hemisphere, and that its Pacific Coast line is longer than that of our three Pacific Coast states. Consider that it is the only part of the continent which is not separated from the rest of the world by an ocean rampart and that Siberia is visible to the naked eye from the shore of Alaska! Moreover, Alaska is the only part of the continent under the American flag which fronts on the Arctic Ocean, one of the great airways of the future. Alaskans are familiar with these facts and their implications, which to most Americans are remote and unknown. From the defense standpoint alone, the nation would be immeasurably strengthened by having in the halls of Congress two United States Senators and a Representative with a vote, intimately familiar with Alaska's vast terrain and its immediate potentialities.

But apart from that, Alaskans have another vital contribution to make. Alaska is known as "our last frontier." To it, from the states, have been attracted the pioneering breed of Americans, who throughout our history have pushed westward in search of greater freedom and greater opportunity. The Alaskan is the robust type of individualist who is not afraid of hard work and is independent in thought and deed. Alaskans represent the vigorous survival of a spirit, an attitude and a way of life that once was everywhere in America. They will contribute to the councils of the nation the initiative, the hardihood and the character which have built our great country.

The President of the United States has declared himself in favor of statehood for Alaska. So has the able Secretary of the Interior, Julius A. Krug. The Governors of the states unanimously, at their thirty-ninth annual conference last July, endorsed statehood for Alaska.

It is for Congress now to answer in respect to Alaska, the question of "slave or sovereign." It is for Congress to materialize our democratic principles, to speed the long overdue development of Alaska, to make fully available its resources, human as well as material, and for the welfare of its people as well as for the safety of our Western Hemisphere, to grant Alaska statehood now.

Elizabeth Gray Vining

Tutor to the Crown Prince of Japan

Young People in New Japan

MRS. REID: When I was in Japan last June there were two particularly memorable experiences. One was in listening for two hours to General MacArthur describe the problems of occupation. The other was a talk with Mrs. Vining. When I left her, she had consented to come to the Forum provided the Imperial Household would approve a leave of absence.

Perhaps there is no educational experiment outside America of more importance to democracy than her responsibility as tutor to the Crown Prince of Japan. Mrs. Vining has rare qualities. She is a Philadelphia Quaker, a Bryn Mawr graduate, a teacher and the author of eleven books for children. "The most distinguished contribution to American literature for children" were the words that were given her book, "Adam of the Road," when she was awarded the Newbery Medal in 1943. There are lots of things I would like to tell you about her but it is more important for her to do the talking. Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Vining.

MRS. VINING: Nowhere in the history of the world, perhaps, have such drastic changes in a nation's life and thought come so swiftly and dramatically as they have come in Japan today. A country bound up for close to a decade in totalitarian warfare has renounced war as an instrument of national policy. A political structure which operated from the top down has been entirely rebuilt upon the democratic foundation of individual liberty and responsibility. An Emperor once hidden from the eyes of his subjects as if he were too sacred to be looked upon by ordinary men has specifically denied any false conception of divinity and emerged in his own person to move among his people and share their lives. A devastated land, which received the horrible impact of the first atomic bomb with an extraordinary absence of bitterness, is going about its rebuilding with courage and even with hope. Out of shock, suffering, bewilderment and a remarkable ability to face and accept facts, plus strong basic tendencies once denied an outlet, has come what General MacArthur has called a spiritual revolution.

The date Aug. 15, 1945, Tokyo time, marks the break between the old and the new. One day the newspaper headlines read: "Various Measures Taken to Strengthen Japan's Defense;" the next, "His Majesty Issues Rescript to Restore Peace." At noon on Aug. 15 the Emperor's voice was heard by all his people for the first time in history, and the war ended without further bloodshed.

I wonder sometimes if we Americans are fully aware of what the Emperor's determination to end the war then has saved us in human lives. If, as the military leaders of Japan demanded, Japan had fought to the last cave and the uttermost hide-away in the mountains, our losses at Iwo Jima and Okinawa would have been trivial in comparison. This ghastly tragedy was prevented by the courage and determination of the Emperor, who, exceeding his traditionally accepted role, insisted upon surrender.

The changes in Japan began immediately after that historic day. The first post-war minister of education was a liberal who began at once to institute policies which foreshadowed the later more sweeping directives of the occupation. He declared religious freedom in the schools, set forth the principle of equal opportunity, called in the old textbooks and made significant changes in the educational personnel.

In September, 1945, the Allied occupation set up the Civil Information and Education Section, and Allied control of Japanese education began. There followed a series of directives which swept out all the militaristic and nationalistic features of the old education system. At the same time, responsibility was placed on the Japanese government itself to take steps to develop a democratic system of education. Invited by General MacArthur, a mission of twenty-seven distinguished American educators visited Japan in the spring of 1946

to survey Japanese education and make recommendations for its reorganization. The function of the occupation has been to guide, assist and encourage the planning of the new education, as well as to supervise the carrying out of the Allied directives. It is significant that there have been liberal Japanese educators who were able and eager to carry forward this great government.

The new law went into effect last spring. Instead of only six years of free compulsory education, Japanese boys and girls will in future have nine. New textbooks in history and geography have been written by liberal Japanese educators and approved by the occupation authorities. The study of civics has been substituted for the old study of morals, which included a good deal of ultranationalistic propaganda. Education is being decentralized, with greater freedom and greater responsibility for local authorities. Many teachers have resigned voluntarily and others have been "purged." Liberal teachers who were driven out by the militarists are coming back. The retraining of teachers is going forward through in-service training, and the reorganization of the normal schools is being planned. A program of adult education is getting under way.

This tremendous transition from rigid control to freedom is being made under most difficult conditions. There are not nearly enough school buildings. More than 4,000 schools were destroyed in the bombing. New schools cannot be built because of the shortage of lumber, concrete and nails. Because of the paper shortage there are not enough textbooks. Children and teachers alike are undernourished and wearied by the struggle to commute in appallingly overcrowded trains. There is a serious shortage of teachers.

Yet the fact that the people are overwhelmingly behind the new education system has recently been vividly and impressively demonstrated. The cost of the new schools and the increased opportunities inevitably came up for debate in the Diet. Letters and petitions in support of the new system began to pour in from all classes of people, including farmers, fishermen and factory workers. During July, August and part of September, 1947, some 3,800,000 signatures urging support of the full program were received by government bodies. This is an enviable record for any country; it is absolutely revolutionary in Japan. For the first time the Japanese public at large is feeling that it has a voice in the education of its children.

One of the most remarkable examples of the change that has taken place in Japan was the Emperor's request that the Education Mission find him an American Christian woman to tutor his son, the Crown Prince. Though I did not apply for this position the primary reason why I accepted it when it was offered to me was that Japan in her new constitution had renounced war. It seemed to me further that for the Emperor at this point in the history of his nation to invite

me to teach his son, and for my own government to permit me to serve in that capacity, was something entirely new in the world and something hopeful.

As I sailed toward Japan a little more than a year ago, knowing almost nothing but the bare fact of my appointment, I wondered what kind of boy the Crown Prince would be. I was determined to do my best for him, whatever he was like, and I knew that you become fond of any child for whom you take responsibility. But I did not realize then that I should really love that little boy for his own sake, quite apart from his significance to the world.

As the Emperor, by the new constitution of Japan, becomes the symbol of the state, so his son is also a symbol. He represents the boyhood of Japan, the hope of the future. He is adored by his people. From great to small they speak of him as "our beloved prince." I have been touched again and again by the people who have come to thank me, in simple but patently sincere words, for "coming to teach our beloved prince." He is a symbol, yet more than a symbol, for his character and his personality will be known to his people as he moves among them with a freedom unprecedented in Japanese history, and his influence will be personal. It is my deepest hope that his education may give him a free and happy growth to his fullest capacities of mind, body and spirit, that it may develop qualities of initiative and courage and ability to discern the good and to be loyal to it, and to respect its presence in his fellow men.

He is an attractive boy, sturdy and well built, with a very engaging smile not often caught by photographers. His mind is alert, analytical, rather deliberate and tenacious. He has unusual poise and dignity; he is something of a philosopher. He approaches his work—and he has a great deal more of it to do than the other boys in his class at school—with an air of responsibility. He puts his mind on the business in hand and meets his obligations manfully. He is friendly and natural with the other boys; he has a sense of humor and he has intellectual honesty.

I give him two private English lessons a week and teach his class in school one hour a week. In the Peers' School he is in a class with twenty-three other boys, the first Crown Prince of Japan ever to have the experience of going to school beyond the primary grades.

In the class we use an American textbook intended as a reader for third-grade children. And here I would like to say that I have had complete freedom in my teaching as in everything else I do. There has not been the slightest attempt to censor or direct my work. The choice of textbook was a difficult one to make, for most books that are simple enough in expression are too immature in thought for these teen-age boys. However, I have found one that was sufficiently varied in subject to hold their interest. The pictures of

American life, the values of fair play, co-operation, initiative and respect for personality which the book conveys without too obvious emphasis make it particularly suitable for my purpose. We use the book as a basis for conversation, and besides that I use simple games, spelling bees, dialogues and so forth.

In the private lessons I have a wider choice of books, because the Prince is farther advanced than most of the class and, furthermore, I can write or rewrite material to fit his need exactly. Because he is particularly interested in horses, fish, toads, turtles and so on, I began with books about those interesting creatures. As the lessons are entirely in English without an interpreter, we have to proceed carefully from the known to the unknown, using the old words to explain the new. Of immense use has been a picture dictionary designed to introduce English-speaking children to the dictionary habit, but invaluable also to the language teacher.

At one time I felt that the Prince's interest was centered rather too exclusively on animals and might well be directed to people. So I asked him on his Sunday drive to the Palace to notice the different kinds of people he saw and make a list of them for me. At our next lesson he had a very respectable list, including both sexes, a variety of ages and occupations, as well as the nationalities that can be easily recognized. We also talk about other countries in simple terms and I hope from that to enlarge his interests and make him aware of people in other lands as individuals and as members of the family of nations.

Besides the Crown Prince and about 130 other children in the Peers' and Peeresses' School, I also teach English to other members of the imperial family: to the Empress, the three princesses, and the Crown Prince's eleven-year-old brother, Prince Masahito. I have also had the rare privilege, certainly never before accorded a foreigner and probably very few Japanese, of sharing family meals at different times with the entire imperial family. I have played hide and seek in the summer twilight with the imperial children, and watched the Emperor and his two sons go riding their white horses on an early summer morning. The Emperor, who is a serious student of marine biology and a scientist of definite achievement, has taken me into his study, and I have seen there the busts of Darwin and Lincoln. When I showed a picture of Lincoln to my class in school, it was the Crown Prince who instantly identified it.

During the next ten years the Crown Prince will be completing his education. His country will be building its new structure upon foundations now well laid. It cannot be done overnight. To change the metaphor, growth is slow, and only that growth which comes from within is sure and permanent. It is no use for us to think it can

proceed automatically without nourishment and without help, or that it will not be affected by the storms in the world outside.

Japan has a tremendous economic problem. The country is small; it is mountainous; it is overpopulated. Only 16 per cent of the land is arable, and that 16 per cent has been so worked out that it requires a great deal of fertilizer, much of which must be imported. The country cannot raise enough food to feed itself.

Democracy does not flourish on hunger. Nor does it flourish on patronage and subsidies. It grows where people can be self-supporting and self-respecting. The other countries of the world must recognize Japan's necessities; they must help her to find a way to earn her own living. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is not an empty phrase. It is the only practical basis upon which a world which has well-nigh destroyed itself can find health and strength again.

We in the United States are better fed, better clothed and better housed than the rest of the world. We must examine ourselves to see if we practice the democracy which we so glibly preach. We must be sure that the children both within our own country and in other nations may receive the nourishment—bodily, mental and spiritual—which will enable them to grow up to create the better world of the future.

Dr. Karl T. Compton

President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Universal Military Training for National Security and World Peace

MRS. REID: This country, as well as England, has its "few" to whom a great debt is owed by "many." One of these "few" is the man who for 17 years has been president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition to his stature as a scientist, he has also found time to serve the country in a bewildering number of other fields—aeronautical engineering, unemployment, nutrition, research for railroads, rubber and radar. He took a leading part in mobilizing and increasing scientific knowledge for the war effort, and was one of the most active members of the National Defense Research Committee. His public service did not end with the war; he was appointed by President Truman chairman of a civilian committee to evaluate effects of bombs dropped on Bikini.

Because of his belief that atomic discoveries have made civilian military training a necessity, he accepted the chairmanship of another committee to study this question. If the Forum could confer degrees,

we might add another to the 25 with which this scientist has already been honored. I can only tell him how grateful we are to have him here tonight. Dr. Compton.

DR. COMPTON: Freedom from dictatorship and oppression, and opportunity for individual development and enterprise, have been the objectives of long generations of struggle and sacrifice. But it is not enough to have achieved a Magna Carta or a Constitution based on the Bill of Rights. The forces from within and without which can take away our freedom are sometimes boldly aggressive and always insidiously at work.

Last May the President's Commission on Universal Training recommended to the President a positive Program for National Security, based on a careful study of those external forces which threaten, or may threaten, our safety and our freedom. It is my privilege to review for you some of the features of this program, and some of the reasons which led the commission to its unanimous recommendation.

It has now become clear to every one that no nation can any longer work out its destiny in isolation. The nations of the world have come to realize this and have set up the United Nations as an organization to promote co-operation and suppress aggression. Just as in our community life we have with considerable success established a reign of law which provides both opportunity and protection to individuals and to groups, just so the objective of the United Nations is to establish an international reign of law which will achieve these same great social objectives on a world-wide scale.

Unfortunately, the difficulties which are being encountered by the United Nations, in its efforts to reach an agreement regarding the essential features of such a program, are such as to cause grave concern.

To mention frankly the most prominent reason for this concern, we are puzzled to know what is back of the intransigent attitude of Russia. Is there, for example, behind the iron curtain a definite program of world conquest of the type advocated by the Communism of Lenin, to be pressed forward by intrigue and deception if possible, and by force if necessary?

During the war we gained a profound admiration and respect for the stalwart character of the Russian nation. There were many reasons for hope that Russian Communism under Stalin is more concerned than that under Lenin with internal development and external co-operation. It is absolutely certain that the United States would not only not wish to interfere with Soviet Russia's internal political or economic program but would co-operate with it, as one free man with another. But the whole post-war record of Russia's international relations has been a blow to these hopes. Until and unless these uncer-

tainties are favorably resolved, prudence requires our nation to maintain a strong military posture as an insurance of freedom and democracy for our own nation, and for the other nations with whose welfare our own is inextricably bound by the ties of human sympathy and the facts of economic and spiritual interdependence.

Our commission made an exhaustive study of the possible ways in which the United States might conceivably become involved in war, what the nature of such a war might be, and what would be the requirements to carry on successfully. Since the United States will not be an aggressor nation, the place and type of any future war would be set by the enemy. This means that any type of military preparedness must be comprehensive because, if there are weak elements in our armor, these will be the points at which a skillful adversary will strike.

With due consideration to the present and foreseeable technological advances in the arts of warfare, the commission came to the unanimous conclusion that the security of the United States requires the following elements, without any one of which our military preparedness program would be seriously deficient:

(a) A strong, healthy, educated population, efficiently at work.
(b) A co-ordinated intelligence service.
(c) An active program of research and development in the fields basic to modern warfare and including atomic warfare.
(d) A well worked out program for industrial mobilization and the stockpiling of critical materials.
(e) Maintenance of an efficient, well-rounded establishment of our regular armed forces, including:
    (1) a striking air force, always ready and powerfully equipped with the best weapons available and capable of operating on short notice over long distances;
    (2) the regular army, navy, air force and marines;
    (3) unity of command.
(f) Universal military training to form the basis for an effective National Guard and the organized reserves of the several services, and to maintain a further supply of reserves trained for military duty or civilian defense.

The evidence is that every technical advance in the art of warfare increases the number of such reserves who are required, increases the degree of training needed to make them effective, and decreases the time within which they are needed after the outbreak of hostilities.

Detailed plans have been devised which involve a minimum of interruption and loss of time in the normal civilian activities of the trainees. For example, if young men who plan to go to college take their basic training from May through October, they need not post-

pone entrance to college, whereas young men from the farms can take their basic training from November through April and will not be kept off the farm in the busy periods of planting and harvesting.

We are convinced that it is possible to provide the universal military training under such conditions that the trainees will come out of it better prepared in health, character and understanding to carry on effectively the duties of citizenship in a democracy.

The Army conducted an experiment and demonstrated at Fort Knox to see what can be done along this line in a six-months' training program in camp. Six hundred and eighty new draftees were the experimental material. In addition to the regular military training schedule, many off-duty activities contributed to the over-all program. I visited a large class in conversational Spanish, taught by one of the trainees; an amateur radio station, a model-making shop, a sketching and painting studio, a gem-cutting shop, a band and a symphony orchestra, a lecture on the Constitution, a Protestant and a Catholic religious service, an athletic contest, and a trial of one of the trainees for destruction of property conducted by a court composed entirely of trainees as part of their self-government system for minor offenses. Forty boys of no previous church affiliation had joined one or another church of their choice. I talked at length with a large number of the boys, singly, confidentially and without knowing their names. Every one of these boys told me that, if he had to make a fresh choice of going through this program or skipping military training entirely, he would elect to go through the program because he felt that he was getting something out of it which would be useful in later life.

This is the kind of program which the armed service must provide, and the kind which the American people will insist upon, if universal military training is instituted. With such a program we will add an essential element to our national security and, at the same time, develop a fine lot of young American citizens.

The financial cost to the country of a universal military training program is estimated to be $1,750,000,000 a year. This is a large bill, but it is equivalent to only about one-half week's expenditures at the peak of World War II and amounts to only about one-fifth of the money which is spent in our country annually for such luxuries as tobacco, alcoholic beverages, cosmetics, jewelry and amusements. If we really take our freedom seriously, if we really understand the world situation in which we now live, and if we really understand that "freedom and democracy must be reborn and rewon with each generation" we shall not hesitate to carry through this program to insure for ourselves and our children the continuation of the American way of life.

Of fifty-five nations, not counting those still under Allied occupation, only six besides ourselves have a voluntary military system.

These are Australia, Canada, Dominican Republic, Eire, India and New Zealand. Five countries, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy and Rumania, have not as yet formulated a post-war system. All other nations have compulsory military service at the present time. In Russia this involves from two to five years of service, depending on the military branch, and leads to an ever-ready army of 10,500,000, mobilized within thirty days. The United States now has about 60,000 combat troops, and our present volunteer system is not even maintaining this number.

It is important for us to act promptly, for it will take about five years after its adoption to build up to the full advantages of the training program. Military preparedness is therefore not a thing which can be postponed until the danger is upon us. And five years hence, another commission should be appointed to survey the national and world situation which exists at that time and to recommend continuation, modification or abandonment of the program as conditions then warrant.

The universal military-training program should not be viewed, as some charge, as a conscription of our citizens by the Army and Navy for their purposes, but as a contribution by all citizens to the defense and service of their country. This is the obligation of a citizen in a democracy, recognized ever since the time of George Washington.

Let me conclude this address by quoting the following sentences from the commission's report to the President as a summary of the argument: "We recommend the adoption of universal training because we are convinced that weakness on our part not only involves our country in grave risks, but also weakens the United Nations, on which rest our hopes for lasting peace. A weak and irresolute America is an invitation to failure. A strong and resolute America is the best guarantee for our safety and for the success of the United Nations. . . . We recommend this course as a wise and prudent investment in American security, liberty and prosperity."

James Forrestal

Secretary of Defense

Keeping America Strong

MRS. REID: Four years ago the Under Secretary of the Navy warned us, from this same platform, that trained men were leaving the government service just when they were most needed. His statement proved correct—with one notable exception—he himself stayed on.

It was his driving strength that in a short time turned a one-ocean Navy into a force commanding the seven seas. Finally in 1944 he became the top executive of the Navy Department. At no time has a Cabinet officer been more acclaimed for clear-headed, forthright ability, and it was a high tribute to his non-partisan fairness that the first recommendation of him for his new post came from generals in the Army.

There is one tragedy in his life—he left the field of journalism soon after leaving college. But I would like you to know that his success in newspaper work was an important rung in his ladder. It is a striking understatement to say that I am very proud of presenting to you our first Secretary of Defense. James Forrestal.

MR. FORRESTAL: I take it that the chief purpose of these gatherings is to make people think, and I steal a story from the well balanced reservoir of Dr. Isaiah Bowman, of Johns Hopkins, who told about two gentlemen who went to a political meeting. At the end of an hour and a half of haranguing one asked the other, "Well, now what do you think?" and the second gentleman said, "What do I think?" He said, "Hell, I didn't come here to think, I came to holler."

I shall try to make my modest contribution to your processes of thought without hollering.

America must remain strong, as Dr. Compton has said, in order that there may be a center around which equilibrium of international relationships can be re-established.

The external world is not now in equilibrium. Two systems, two attitudes toward the government of men are still searching for the means by which they can come to accommodation. Between them lie the great vacuums of Europe and of China, both pulsing with energy and life but both desperately needing time to organize in order that they may again take their place in the comity of nations and in the world system.

It is too early to rely upon such formulas as world government and disarmament, desirable though these goals may be for the long future.

Discussion of world government is futile until men can come to an agreement as to what form of government they want for the world. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has one idea of that government. We have another. We have no desire to impose ours upon them, and we certainly do not propose to have theirs imposed upon us. It is better to live in two worlds than to accept force as the means to impose our views or our system.

For the same reason, while we can work toward the goal of disarmament, it is totally impracticable to talk about it as something just around the corner.

Americans hate the very idea of war. We have the deepest revulsion against its brutality, its economic waste and its sacrifice of the young and the brave. Yet there are some alternatives to war which obviously none of us will accept. Concentration camps, life in a police state where every man lives in constant fear of the midnight knock on the door and the summons to answer for the alleged crime of having his own opinion—these are some of the alternatives that we find unacceptable.

Equilibrium, or balance of power, is essential in the world, both within the framework of the United Nations and outside it. Balance of power really means that men who want to live in a society of law, of justice, rather than in a world ruled by force, recognize that adjustment between differing ways of life and different forms of gov-

ernment requires constant negotiation and continuing effort to prevent frictions needlessly developing into conflict.

We are living in a world in which the great fundamental struggle is reflected in the question which Mrs. Reid proposed for this forum—"Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?"

The simple way for modern man to solve that problem would be to accept the control of the state. That is an easy way out. The other way of life, the balance of the individual's rights against his obligations to the state, the careful restraint which the state puts upon itself to avoid infringing the rights of individual men, that is a far more difficult task, and it calls for a more severe discipline.

That is the task which we have taken upon ourselves. We believe that the great mass of mankind, once the primeval fear of hunger and starvation is lifted, will want that kind of life. We are trying to buy the time which mankind needs in order to restore his vigor to the point where he can walk along the road to that goal.

Within our nation we have also to work to preserve equilibrium. Ours is a delicately balanced society. The components of its strength are spiritual, moral and economic. Morally, our adherence to the belief in freedom of thought and speech is one of the beacons of hope for the world. Spiritually, the right we give to all men to worship God in the manner that they choose is another manifestation of our strength. Economically, we seek to maintain the balance between free adventuring of capital enterprise, the rights and security of labor and the power of government. One of the things that engages my loyalty to the President is his unwavering devotion to that concept of American life.

It's an easy thing for a man at the head of a state to acquire power if he wants it. And it sometimes takes the sharpest discipline not to accept that power.

Business needs the atmosphere of freedom and of adventure to keep the great economic machinery of America spinning; but it also must have the self-discipline to insure that its own driving momentum does not set up too much power. Labor cannot acquire so much power that any man or group of men may, by an idle whim, throw the switches on the economic machinery of the nation. In the long run the result of that action is the acquisition by government of complete power over labor itself. And yet, at the same time, we must not pass laws that are so restrictive as to drive labor into the dark caves of hate and malice and frustration, which is precisely what some doctrinaires would like to see happen.

You gather I'm against extremes. The ordered discipline of a fanatic philosophy is easy for man to accept, but, once accepted, it is hard ever to shake loose from it. We all remember some people who admired the brightly shining faces of the children who walked in the

Jugend movements of Hitler's parades. But those faces at maturity became fused into the faceless and materialistic man who gave the Fuehrer the devotion which we believe man owes only to God.

It seems to me that man must face the fact that equilibrium or balance of power, both in states and outside of states, rather than any single formula of either politics or economics, is the answer to an orderly and decent world. No one class, be it proletarian, military or scientific, be it politicians or bankers, is wise enough or good enough to run the world. Too much power lodged in any man or any group of men or nations is dangerous because power can corrupt even the most virtuous of men. The unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth can be matched equally and fully by the unconscious arrogance of conscious power. I have seen both, and I don't like either.

I have taken this thesis of equilibrium as a central point in my remarks because it is in that framework that I want to emphasize the need for keeping a strong America—an end result on which I believe the great majority of our citizens find themselves in agreement.

The purpose in our maintenance of a military organization of the first rank is solely and completely for the purpose of giving the world time to achieve stability. That also is the objective of our diplomacy and of our economic action. Had we had any thought of achieving our political objectives by the means of power, we would not have withdrawn the 4½ millions of men and the overwhelming air strength that we had in Europe at the end of hostilities in the spring of 1945.

I am confident that most of our citizens are also in agreement that the surest way to avoid war is to make it clear to any possible group of enemies that the risks of engaging us are too great to make it worth while. At the same time we must exercise the patience that should also accompany the possession of strength.

Lord Haldane, one of the great Ministers of War in Great Britain, who served in that post from 1905 to 1912, said that his greatest problem was presented by the existence of two classes of people: one, the chauvinists who wanted to react to the slightest affront, to the most accidental injury to the national ego, by going to war by Monday morning; two, the equally dangerous group who wished to advertise to the world that under no circumstances would they permit their nation to fight.

We must avoid both of these extremes.

What are the requirements of national security? It would be a comfortable thing if we could rely upon the mechanical advantages which our ingenuity and our resourcefulness have developed, but reliance upon a single means of defense is just as dangerous and can be just as illusory as the reliance of the Romans upon their barbarian mercenaries.

Because the task of maintaining national security is a buck that

cannot be passed to anybody else, it has to be a common responsibility if we are to remain free.

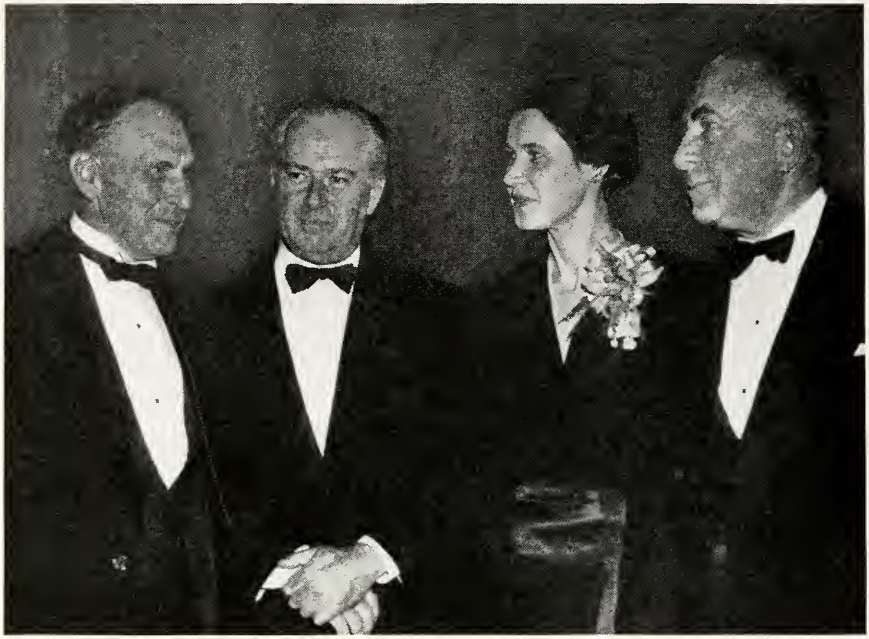
I have heard Dr. Compton's remarks to you about universal military training, and I indorse them completely. I am frank to say that this is a matter about which I only recently came to have a deep conviction. During the war I was not convinced that universal military training was necessary to our military establishment, first because of the danger that it might delude the country into the belief that in itself it was sufficient guaranty of our safety, and because it was difficult for us in the Navy to see how it could be applied in naval training. However, after carefully studying the report of President Truman's committee and examining the studies and listening to the presentations made by the Department of the Army, I believe there is no alternative if we are to have the trained forces necessary in an emergency.

As a democracy we do not start wars and therefore we can never be in a state of absolute readiness—it is only the men who plan wars who keep completely ready. We must rely, then, upon the best general preparation that we can devise so that our young men in case of a war will not be called upon to fight without adequate training. No coach will put his men into a hard competitive football game without serious and careful training. In football it is only arms, ankles and noses that are broken. In war we expose young men to the loss of life itself.

Universal military training is not the only requirement for our security. A prosperous aviation industry, a vigorous merchant marine, an educated and informed public, a people ever gaining in health—these are all essential to our safety.

To return now for a moment to the title theme of this Forum—"Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?" Man will remain sovereign so long as he retains the strength of faith and hope and self-reliance. The authoritarian and dictator state is heir to the fruits of anarchy, despair and chaos. The revolt of the masses for lack of bread truly creates a dictatorship of, and not by, the proletariat.

We must remain strong within, to show to the world that our great and busy society can continue to produce efficiently without the sacrifice of any of the fundamental liberties upon which our nation is founded; but while maintaining our own strength we must share enough of it so that, to paraphrase the words of George Canning, we may bring the faith and hope and strength of the New World to redress the balance of the Old.



Discussion: Outposts of American Democracy. Left to right, Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Joseph R. Farrington, Elizabeth Gray Vining and Ernest Gruening at the first session of the Forum.

Outposts of American Democracy

MISS HIETT: The strength of America, about which we have just heard, is connected, of course, to a very large extent to the strength of our outposts in the Pacific area. Tonight, in this discussion with three of our speakers and one guest, we are concerned with the three most important of these outposts in the Pacific—Hawaii, Alaska and Japan. And unless the whole approach of this Forum has been wrong, these outposts can't be strong unless they are free.

We are fortunate in having four authorities with us who can help us view the problem clearly and at close range—Governor Gruening, who has just flown in from Juneau; Joseph Farrington, who left his constituency in Hawaii ten days ago; Mrs. Vining, who came a short time ago by Army plane from Japan, and Roger Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union. I think it's most appropriate in a program that has been devoted to America's Problems of Liberty that we should also have at the end of the program a man who has devoted his entire life to the defense of civil liberties in this country.

He has now just returned from a trip to Japan and Korea, on invitation of the commanding general. In the two months he spent there he had a chance for careful observation and study of the occupation.

But before we get to Japan there are one or two questions that I'd like to ask you, Governor Gruening.

First of all, will you summarize for us the reasons for Alaskan statehood? Then come the questions.

GOVERNOR GRUENING: Well, first, Alaskans, believing that American citizenship is the most precious possession in the world, desire that citizenship in full measure.

Second, statehood is indispensable for the progress and development of Alaska.

Eighty years' experience, a period of tutelage, or colonialism, longer than that of all but five states, speaks eloquently.

MISS HIETT: Thanks very much, Governor Gruening, and now that you've summarized so well the reasons for statehood for Alaska, and since we have Mr. Farrington here, who is equally interested in statehood for Hawaii, why don't you tell us why Hawaii should be a state?

GOVERNOR GRUENING: The United States needs to grant statehood to Hawaii even more, far more, than Hawaii needs to receive it. Statehood for Hawaii will be a recognition of the outstanding example of ethnic democracy under our flag.

Hawaii's admission to statehood will be a living proof that we, as a nation, are really living up to our professions of democracy and our asserted belief in the equality of man, regardless of race or creed.

On the other hand, failure to make Hawaii a state, after she has not merely fulfilled but far exceeded every requirement for statehood, will be disastrous to our future in the Pacific. It will arouse antagonism in the Far East and elsewhere where we're seeking to win friendships and create good will. In my view, admission of Hawaii is a national imperative.

MISS HIETT: Thank you very much, and now, Mr. Farrington, it's only fair to ask you to tell us why you think Alaska should be a state. Can you do that?

MR. FARRINGTON: I believe that Governor Gruening, from his long experience as director of the Division of Territories and Insular Possessions, has become, beyond doubt, one of the leading exponents of statehood for Hawaii, and I want to express my gratitude for his friendly interest.

I've never been to Alaska myself, but I can't see how any one having lived there through a lifetime can other than hope for the time

when they will enjoy equality with other American citizens. I have that feeling very strongly myself, having lived in Hawaii throughout a lifetime—the feeling that we are being definitely denied something. I know that that is at the spearhead of the spirit which moves the Alaskans for statehood.

MISS HIETT: One more question, Mr. Farrington. Do you think that other peoples in the Pacific are interested in what goes on in Hawaii? Do you think they're watching Hawaiian progress toward statehood? If so, what conclusions do they draw from the delay?

MR. FARRINGTON: There's no question in my mind that the developments in connection with statehood for Hawaii are being watched very closely by people in the islands to the south, who are fellow Polynesians to our native Hawaiians; by the people of the Philippines, who are represented in Hawaii by some 40,000 to 50,000 Filipinos; by the people of China, whose great leader, Sun Yat-sen, received his early training and inspirations in the Territory of Hawaii; by the people of Korea, who have 6,000 to 7,000 people in Hawaii and who supported Dr. Syngman Rhee in Hawaii for many years, and by the people of Japan, whose sons, born under the American flag and raised as American citizens, were particularly proud of the effort they exerted to defeat the Japanese militarists.

MISS HIETT: Thanks very much, Mr. Farrington. Now Governor Gruening, you probably know by this time that you've got some friends out here in the audience, and I take it they've come to support you, because Hawaii is nearer to statehood than Alaska is. At any rate here's one of them who wants to ask a question—Tom Stewart, who's lived most of his life in Alaska, served with the ski troops in the 10th Mountain Division during the war, and now is a student at the Yale Law School. Tom Stewart.

MR. STEWART: Statehood for Alaskans would mean rights and privileges, but wouldn't it also mean Alaska residents would have to bear a big increase, too large an increase, in their taxes to cover the costs?

MISS HIETT: There's one for you, Governor Gruening.

GOVERNOR GRUENING: Well, that's the principal argument against statehood, voiced particularly by those who pay almost no taxes at all and prefer to continue that way. It has been found by experts who've come up there and studied our financial system in recent years that Alaska is by far the most lightly taxed community under the flag and that most comfortably, merely to achieve normality in the matter of tax revenue, it could produce four to five times as

much as it now does. The costs of statehood, on the other hand, would probably add only $2,000,000 a year, a very, very small price to pay for freedom and all the corresponding benefits that would come with statehood.

MISS HIETT: And now here's George Rogers, whom you'll undoubtedly recognize, because I understand he's one of your former economic advisers. He has a question for you.

MR. ROGERS: Well, Governor Gruening, while you're still talking about the costs of statehood and where the money's coming from, aren't there any sources of revenue which might be derived by the state from natural resources now under the control of the Federal government?

GOVERNOR GRUENING: Well, yes, I can think, for instance, of the Pribilov seals; the seals were one of the major factors in having Uncle Sam buy Alaska in 1867 and then turning the concession over to a private company in San Francisco. And, when the seals were pretty nearly exterminated, Uncle Sam took over and brought back the seals, which now net the Federal government, after all expenses have been paid, about $1,500,000 a year. Well, they're an Alaskan resource, and we think under statehood it would be perfectly just to have those transferred to the state. That would almost pay the cost of statehood.

MISS HIETT: Here's a question now from Mrs. Mildred Herman, a practicing attorney in Alaska, who's come down for the General Federation of Women's Clubs meeting. Mrs. Herman?

MRS. HERMAN: Governor Gruening, do you feel that the granting of full statehood might result in a dangerous weakening of the defense position of the United States?

GOVERNOR GRUENING: Quite the contrary. We have always been aware of the weaknesses of Alaskan defenses. We were keenly aware of them before the second world war, but without two Senators to make our views felt, we could make very little impression, and that situation is as true today as it was then. Statehood would not only mean better strictly military defenses but it would mean an economic basis which is essential to strong military preparedness.

MISS HIETT: Thank you very much, Governor Gruening. Now let's turn our attention to Japan, that other great drama in democracy. Both Mrs. Vining and Roger Baldwin have recently had a chance to observe at very close range, and I know you are probably as anxious

as I am to hear from them whether this experiment in democracy really is working. Where is it getting? Mrs. Vining and Roger Baldwin will you come up here and try to throw some light on the subject for us? It's a question we all want to know more about.

MR. BALDWIN: I spent two months in Japan. Mrs. Vining and I saw considerable of each other, and I think that, on the whole, we have come to somewhat the same conclusions. I regard the occupation of Japan as one of the most remarkable adaptations of the democratic principle in history. There are, however, some reservations and some doubts. And I want to ask Mrs. Vining in regard to one of them on which she ought to be an authority: namely, can you have a democratization program in Japan successfully worked out under an imperial household system?

MRS. VINING: The answer to that is: Look at England. The position of the emperor under the new constitution is very like that of the King of England. The emperor is the symbol of the state. Politically he has no direct function in government, but in the eyes of the people he represents government personified. The Japanese love for the emperor goes back as far as their written history, and before that. It's the emotional center of the national life, and it's the unifying source that's made it possible for the nation to change its whole direction without coming apart and flying to pieces.

MR. BALDWIN: I hate as a democrat to pay that tribute to emperors, but I think you're quite correct. That's the experience I had in Japan, too—that there was this almost universal cohesion around the institution of the imperial household. Well, now, do you think that the emperor, as you say, the emperor of the imperial household, has been democratized?

MRS. VINING: Yes, I think he has. Before the surrender it was a dull life for these people—they weren't allowed to look at him, as if he were too sacred, even when he traveled. The police along the route of his train ordered the people to go into their houses and shut their wooden shutters, but now he's emerged and he moves among his people as a man. He goes and visits. He goes to different parts of Japan, and he visits institutions of all kinds. He and the empress are going out together in Tokyo. People are having a chance to know him as a man and to love him personally.

MR. BALDWIN: I also saw the emperor, Mrs. Vining, and I concur in your views that he is a man now liberalized and democratized. He is no danger, I think, to the future Japanese democracy. Now, you're an authority on two aspects of Japanese life. One is the

imperial household, and the other, education. And I want to ask you whether the job of democratizing education in Japan seems to you to have been making any really substantial progress.

MRS. VINING: I think it's been making very great progress indeed. Instead of only six years of free compulsory education, Japanese boys and girls in the future will have nine. New textbooks in history and geography have been written by liberal Japanese educators and approved by the occupation. The study of civics has been substituted for the old study of morals, which included a great deal of ultra-nationalistic propaganda. Education is being decentralized, with greater freedom and greater responsibility for local authorities.

Many teachers have resigned voluntarily, and others have been purged. Now, of course, some good wheat has gone out with the chaff.

Liberal teachers who were driven out by the militarists are coming back. Retraining of teachers is going forward through in-service training, and the reorganization of the normal schools is being planned and a program of adult education is getting under way.

MR. BALDWIN: What do you find is the children's reaction to it, in your school and in other schools? What do you hear of what the children think of their own futures and of the future of Japan? Did you find a hopeful atmosphere?

MRS. VINING: Oh, they're very hopeful. They're looking toward the future. My boys and girls write diaries for me in English during their holidays, and through those diaries I get a very vivid picture of their home life and of what they're thinking about.

They're interested, like all young people, in sports. The rival is the ration they usually mention, which shows that they don't take food for granted. As one boy put it, "Since defeated the war, the people of Japan have suffered from food."

The election last spring brought out comments from several. One of them wrote, "Today is election day, the hope and promise for the future of Japan."

Many of them are reading very mature books. The one that's most frequently mentioned is "War and Peace." And the girls, who happen to be rather older than the boys I teach, are thinking rather more seriously and deeply about Japan's future and about the new path which she is to tread.

MR. BALDWIN: I heard a good deal of criticism in Japan that the new educational methods had not really reached deeply into the schools and that even what was done there hadn't reached beyond the schools into the after-school hours and home life. Now you can speak for that, I'm sure.

MRS. VINING: Well, they're very busy after school. Something very new has happened in Japan and that is that the boys as well as the girls are having to help with the housework. They write, in a perfectly matter-of-fact way, of helping their mothers when their mothers are maybe ill, with the washing and the cooking.

The girls—but, of course, you expect it of the girls—the girls are rather more frank about their failures. As one girl said, "I bake the bread with electrical appliances and I wrote the diary with rapt attention so that the bread got burned."

MR. BALDWIN: Mrs. Vining and I are both, I am afraid, optimists, and we will be charged with painting too rosy a picture of this great experiment. A great many people think that the Japanese are not honestly democratic. You've heard that in Japan, I heard it in Japan, and I've heard it a lot since I got back home.

What do you think as to the genuineness of their conversion? How deep does it go? What does it amount to?

MRS. VINING: Well, I'm convinced, and I've talked to a great many other people who say the same thing, that the Japanese are sincerely trying to understand and to practice democracy. I think failure of the ultra-nationalistic war by discrediting militarism has given the movement a very strong start, and I think, moreover, that there have always been strong liberal elements in Japan which wanted to do the things that they have been set free by the occupation to do.

We mustn't expect to impose upon the Japanese a rubber-stamp imitation of the American pattern of democracy, and, in fact, we are not.

I think that one of the most important and brilliant features of the occupation is the way that it has steadily thrown responsibility upon the Japanese people for working out their own new institutions themselves. They're not just trying to do what they think will flatter Americans.

MR. BALDWIN: What is the attitude of the Japanese in your experience toward General MacArthur? There are those who say that General MacArthur has replaced the Emperor in the Japanese mind.

MRS. VINING: Without exception they respect, trust and like him. They feel that he understands Japan. His firmness and his justice and his magnanimity have made a profound impression. I think it is a great tribute to both General MacArthur and to the Japanese people that this relationship, after so bitter a war, could grow up between them. Don't you think that, Mr. Baldwin?

MR. BALDWIN: I found it exactly as you describe it. I think it's one of the most remarkable tributes in history to the personality of a conqueror who can make of defeated people friends. And that has been done by General MacArthur in never allowing the slightest degree of reflection, insult or ridicule on the part of the occupation to a defeated people.

I want to ask you again, Mrs. Vining, about the occupation, after we get out, and we will get out, presumably after a peace treaty. I hear the common comment that the Japanese will slip back into their old ways. Do you think that likely? What's your view of it, based on your experience?

MRS. VINING: I believe they won't, for when we leave, power will lie in the elected government of the people, and there is strength to support it—a great strength, for instance, in the women. Before the war, politically, legally and economically they were nonentities, but for thirty years there was a small but doggedly persistent woman-suffrage movement that actually prepared women to seize the opportunity when it was offered. Since the war they have stepped forward to take their share of responsibility in the most heartening way. More than one million more women than men voted in the first election, and they elected thirty-nine women to the House of Representatives, a larger number than to any other national assembly in the world.

Twenty-four per cent of the members of the labor movement are women, but you would know more about that than I do, Mr. Baldwin. I'm mostly with the school crowd.

MR. BALDWIN: Well, I don't know so much about the women, but I know something about the trade unions. And one of the most remarkable phases of Japanese life is that the trade-union movement has mushroomed in two years' time from 500,000 to 5,500,000, and we now have the strongest political party, as you know, in the Diet, the Social Democrats, with a Socialist Prime Minister, a complete transformation of the Japanese economic control from the old monopolistic family crowd now to the trade unions and the Socialists.

Everywhere in Japan, from Right to Left, I heard, and I presume that you heard, Mrs. Vining, an expression that they hoped the Americans would stay, that the occupation would remain, not leave too quickly before its task was completed. And that I think is in part due to the spirit of crusade on the part of the occupation. That is a word used by even the highest officials of our military forces, and a word that I never heard used by military men before. They're engaged in a crusade to democratize and reform and demilitarize Japan. And that is one of the extraordinary aspects which you have indicated, of the relation between the Japanese and ourselves.

This gives very little chance for the infiltration of Communism in Japan, and therefore the movement is a small but always vigorous minority. I suppose in the circles in which Mrs. Vining moves, the imperial household and the peers' schools, you don't hear much about Communism, but I should like to know your view of it.

MRS. VINING: I find it a very general conviction that Communism is not congenial to Japanese thought. There are only four Communist Representatives in Parliament. I think that the Communists in Japan are few but highly vocal.

MR. BALDWIN: That's not unusual, Mrs. Vining. There's another aspect of Japanese life and attitudes which surprised me also. I expected to find a good deal more of the Communist penetration than there is, and I was gratified to find as little because democracy was working so well. I thought there would be, however, considerable resentment, under-currents of resentment, in regard to the use of the atomic bombs, and yet I found almost none among the Japanese.

They were reluctant to talk about the war. How did you find it?

MRS. VINING: Let me read you what one of my boys wrote about the atomic bomb. "Two years ago (this is an eighth-grade boy) on Aug. 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb for Japan did explode above the Hiroshima city, and in this moment great numbers of people died out from war to peace, I hated this atomic bomb at that time, but a few days later the second world war had ended, so I did thank this atomic bomb. And I hope very much all countries of world will not use atomic bombs to all human race again."

MR. BALDWIN: That's about the attitude, yes.

MISS HIETT: Thank you, Mrs. Vining. If I can inject just one question here, I'd like to say that from your discussion it all sounds as if it's working too smoothly. Aren't there any criticisms?

MR. BALDWIN: Well, I suppose Mrs. Vining and I both have criticisms. What I felt most strongly in Japan as an error in our present policy, probably necessary at first, is the very rigid censorship which keeps out of Japan all printed matter. You can not even subscribe to the New York Herald Tribune and send it to a Japanese. You can not send a single book to a Japanese professor, except through the occupation. Inside Japan, all radio, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines—everything are under occupation censorship. Mrs. Vining might say a word about the Japanese attitude toward that. That was my one serious criticism. There are also a lot of other little ones.

MRS. VINING: I think there's no doubt about it that the Japanese are in danger of being intellectually starved, and they are hungry for American books.

MISS HIETT: Now, since we've got to, will you help me just to sum up, Mrs. Vining? I wish you could tell us what is, in summary, your impression of the Japanese attitude and the Japanese progress toward democracy?

MRS. VINING: In spite of great difficulties, Japan is making a genuine effort toward democracy, and with the help of occupation is making real, and I believe lasting, progress toward it. The unusual capacity the Japanese people have for facing facts and accepting responsibility for their actions has made possible already the most remarkable change in the nation's reaction that history has known.

The Crown Prince, as the future emperor, is the symbol of Japanese boyhood. For this reason, and because of the great influence which he will probably wield, an attempt is being made, not only by me but by all who have anything to do with him, to give him the education that will fit him for leadership in a democratic and peaceful country.

MISS HIETT: How would you react to what Mrs. Vining said, Mr. Baldwin? Do you agree with that?

MR. BALDWIN: I agree with her general conclusions, and her spirit and feeling about Japan is one which I found generally among the more intelligent sections, I may say, of the occupation. My own view is that despite the economic prostration of Japan, the tremendous distress—and there will be until a peace treaty is written—our occupation has accomplished a miracle in two short years.

Conquerors have become liberators. Power has shifted from reactionaries to Social Democrats, who head a coalition with the strongest support in the trade unions, as has happened in no other occupied area for which the United States is responsible.

The militarists and the monopolists have been purged. Democracy works, and therefore Communism is no present threat in Japan. These revolutionary changes are, in my judgment, due first to the wise decision to build on the government and to hold on to the emperor, and second, to the statesmanship and faith of that extraordinary man General MacArthur, and third, to the capacity of the Japanese people, as Mrs. Vining says, to change direction and learn from their failures.

I submit that Japan is one bright spot in a very dark world, and an only too rare example of what our democracy can inspire when it has skill and faith.

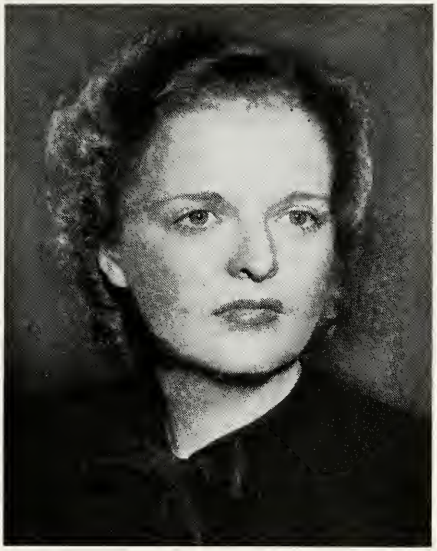
SECOND SESSION

Tuesday, October 21, 1947, 1:45 P.M.

Spiritual Contributions to the Strength of Man

"Unless man is free to choose between good and evil he cannot co-operate toward his own evolution."

LECOMTE du NOÜY in "Human Destiny," *1947*



Helen Hiett, Chairman

MISS HIETT: We are here this afternoon to continue our questioning about the destiny of modern man . . . whether he is becoming a slave to the environment his centuries of striving have created, or whether he is moving toward his final liberation, sovereign individual, responsible citizen.

What do we mean by "sovereign man?" Goethe says a sovereign man is a man who is free to choose between good and evil. Lecomte du Noüy adds the thought that, unless man *is* free to choose between good and evil, he cannot co-operate toward his own evolution; cannot improve himself deeply, from within.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, one of the eminent scholars who has come today to help us think this problem through, has called democracy a process of finding proximate solutions for insoluble problems.

As good democrats then, on the moral as well as on the political plane, shall we start our discussion by agreeing to be satisfied with a proximate solution?

It is hard to do this. Having absolutes imposed is easier. But, as I understand it, we are here today looking less for ease than for freedom to choose as we please.

This kind of choice strikes somewhere very near the core of the political division in the world today, that is making men enemies,

and nations adversaries. For isn't the difference between communist and democrat a moral difference, basically? Hasn't it something to do with faith, on the one hand, that man, free to choose between good and evil, will choose good more than fifty per cent of the time—and a fear, on the other hand, that he won't? That he, therefore, has to be told what is "good" and then forced to follow it according to the dictator's design?

It's a complicated matter. And, as if it weren't complicated enough, we are suddenly faced with the phenomenon of great men and good men, men devoted to pursuit of truth and understanding, probing for such fundamental answers that, before we were ready for it, they had smashed the atom.

For more than two years now we have been hurrying along, confused by what we've done, confused by choices that confront us, and trying desperately to catch up with ourselves.

Expanding science has put us all in new danger. But, often the imminence of new danger gives birth, in the hearts and souls of men, to new feelings and compulsions which can help to meet it.

We may be nearer than we know to those new feelings now.

This platform has some people on it who, perhaps, can help us put them in motion. For they have come to help us probe a little deeper into moral man's potentiality.

This is a field that has far more of fog and promise in it than the shadow which the Curies found from pitchblend on a photographic plate. Part of the fog that leaves men groping may be due to the different tenets in the different faiths men hold that seem to divide them and yet the men and women present here this afternoon representing different faiths, I am sure, will all agree on one thing—and it is this agreement that lifts the fog and lets the light of promise break through. I think these men and women, whatever their different faiths may be, will all agree that if we just can stretch our souls a little, moral man can catch up. He can not only catch up enough to meet the new threat from the field of science—he can encompass and outdistance it.

To begin the discussion for us, we have asked Dr. Ralph Linton to tell us why men believe.

Dr. Ralph S. Linton

Sterling Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

Why Men Believe

MISS HIETT: Dr. Linton, as an anthropologist, knows not only why we, in the so-called civilized societies believe; he knows, from his work among primitive peoples, what that common urge is among all men that makes them need God. He began his anthropological work as an archeologist, excavating ancient Maya ruins in Guatemala and in opening up the cliff houses in Mesa Verda in the southwest. After World War I, in which he served in the Rainbow Division overseas, Dr. Linton went to the South Seas and lived for several years in the remote islands of the Marquesas group. Here he became more interested in living cultures than in the remains of the long-dead ones.

His search for understanding of why men are what they are, led him to become a master carver in the Marquesas. In Madagascar he lived for two years with native tribes, and is a licensed medicine man among them.

Dr. Linton is the author of many books including: "The Study of Man" and "Man's Way From Cave to Skyscraper." Both because of his present work in the fields of social structure and personality, and

also because of his intimate, first-hand acquaintance with other cultures whose beliefs and institutions are very different from our own, we have asked him to tell us why men believe. Dr. Linton.

DR. LINTON: As the representative of science on this afternoon's program, I feel myself under an obligation to make clear what I believe to be the attitude of the great majority of modern scientists toward religion. Moreover, as a social scientist I feel that I have a particular obligation to the other workers in this field who, like myself, are trying to discover the mainsprings of human action with a view to giving man better control of himself.

I know that in certain circles the social sciences are regarded as the last strongholds of atheism. I myself am a birthright member of the Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, and I can say quite honestly that I have never found any conflict between the tenets of my religion and the findings of my science. One suspects that the real cause of the current attacks on social scientists is that most of them do lack the simple childlike faith illustrated in a recent "New Yorker" cartoon where a little girl, coming from Sunday school, says to a little boy, "God is *so* a Republican."

Actually, the atheistic scientist of the nineteenth century is as outdated as the sort of religion that forced Gallileo to recant his doctrine that the earth moved about the sun. A great social reformer of some two thousand years ago said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto the Lord the things that are the Lord's." Modern science, even more than religion, is taking that dictum to heart. It has enough to do in exploring the tangible universe by its own particular techniques.

These techniques provide answers to a great many problems, most of them dealing with the "how" of natural processes. In no case has science been able to reach the ultimate "why" of either man or the universe of which he is a part. That this ultimate "why" is a matter of blind chance seems to most scientists the most improbable of all the innumerable explanations which have been offered through past ages. However, he has no tools with which to deal with this ultimate problem, and is content to leave it to those who believe that they have.

The social scientist shares these views with his colleagues in the natural and physical sciences, but he is vastly more conscious than they are of the importance of faith in the human scheme of things. He knows that within the whole span of recorded history there has never been a society which did not have a religion of some sort. There have been a few very brief interludes, such as that at one period of the French revolution or in the early days of Communism, but it is questionable how far these have touched any one except a few leaders. Even Russian Communism has developed a more tolerant attitude

in recent years. This does not necessarily mean that the Russian leaders have receded from their earlier position that religion was the opium of the people. It may be merely a recognition that life in a totalitarian state requires more anaesthesia than Marx and Lenin anticipated.

Since religion is such a universal phenomenon, social science tries to understand it and to discover why men everywhere have believed in something outside the visible, material universe—something powerful to help or to harm. They are by no means the first to attack this problem. Priests and philosophers have been concerned with it ever since man learned to produce enough economic surplus to support such seemingly idle specialists. Those who toiled with their hands were repaid not only by the priest's intercession with the unseen powers, but also with the ready-made explanations of things which the priests handed down.

Systems of thought and belief are comforting little houses to shelter the mind of man from the great winds that blow between the worlds, and the cold darkness of outer space. They are as necessary to the well being of man's spirit as food and shelter are to the well being of his body. As one of the eighteenth-century French philosophers said, even if there were no God it would be necessary for man to invent one.

During the last century science has tried to build its own system of thought and belief based on a particular set of premises. Today it seems certain that some of these are not valid. The situation reminds me of that which existed in physics when I studied it in college. At that time physics was regarded as the deadest of the sciences. Everything in the universe had been reduced to simple terms of matter and energy, two quite different things. The only thing which disturbed the perfect picture was that a particular mineral, pitchblend, would fog a photographic plate. When the Curies set out to find the explanation for this, the atomic age began.

It is quite possible that similar vast horizons may be opened up to man when we get an understanding of clairvoyance, mental telepathy and kindred phenomena which we now regard as supernatural simply because they fall outside the system which we have developed for explaining nature. Nearly all scientists who are familiar with the research which has already been done in these phenomena are convinced of their reality. All that we know beyond that point is that they do not seem to follow the familiar patterns of all other happenings in time and space.

While these phenomena puzzle the scientist, they have very little bearing on the problem of why men believe. Such phenomena have no place in the ordinary business of living. If the forces responsible for them influence human existence, they do so in obscure and indirect

ways, much as radioactivity influenced it before we learned how to harness the atom. They surprise us because they do not fit into our picture of the universe, but primitive man must have found many other things more startling. Paradoxically, what we call the supernatural cannot explain supernaturalism.

In so far as the social scientist can deal with the problem of belief by his own techniques and knowledge, it seems to him to stem from two very simple and fundamental needs of human beings. Everyone is conscious of a need for help and reassurance, and everyone wants to understand what is going on. The second of these needs is the less compulsive. Nevertheless, all societies do have explanations for what is going on in the universe and for why certain things happen to the people in it. All human beings, outside the small group who have been influenced by modern science, people their world with ghosts, spirits and magical forces of one sort and another.

These provide a simple and immediate explanation for every happening, from why the sun rises to why the biggest fish got away. Given some one to thank or blame, there is no need to think further. Years ago I got into a conversation with an Ozark preacher, who had recently been convinced that the earth was round and that it did move around the sun. He admitted this grudgingly but added, "You can't make me believe that the law o' gravity's got anything to do with it. Hit ain't nothing but the everlastin' will of God keeps her swingin'."

While human beings might conceivably be able to live in a totally unexplained universe, they certainly cannot live without reassurance and the expectation of help. No amount of training can keep the individual from having a feeling of inadequacy in many situations. He needs help so often and so badly that he has to believe that help can be had if only he goes about it properly. Moreover, this belief is really based on experience. As father to the thought, he has not only the wish but also his subconscious memory.

Perhaps the most important discovery which scientists have made in their study of our minds has been that of the tremendous importance of early experience. A few psychologists have carried this idea too far. The personality of an individual certainly is not a completed product at the age of three, nor will a single shocking experience in childhood mark a person for life unless there have been other experiences leading up to it. However, every individual begins to work out his own picture of the world from the moment that he emerges into it. This picture will be based on what happened to him, but it will determine his expectations and, through these, a good deal of his conduct.

The world of the small child is mostly made up of people. For the first few months, mother and child are together the greater part of the time. Long before the baby can focus his eyes or control his

muscles, he learns that crying brings results. He also learns to associate most of his comforts with people paying attention to him and most of his discomforts with their staying away. As the child grows older, there is normally some one to come on the run whenever he gets into serious trouble. He takes this potential help so much for granted that the sudden realization that he is alone is enough to throw him into a blind panic. His world is in many ways a magic world. Words will bring results that he could never achieve with his own efforts. The toy which he tells his father he wants suddenly appears, and some good-natured grown-up who sees him toiling to build a raft will laugh and finish it for him out of hand. Of course, the grown-ups who help also punish, but they can usually be either cajoled or avoided until they cool off.

With such a background of experience, belief in supernatural help is much easier than unbelief. The needs are still there in the adult, and so are the memories of having been helped. He may not be able to see the spirit helpers, but he feels that they must be somewhere about, just as his parents were. They will come when he needs them if he can only find out how to contact them. Even today most uncivilized people think of the world as swarming with beings whom we would call supernatural. These beings range all the way from cosmic deities of infinite power to pixies and elves. The human imagination has run riot in picturing them, and I have never forgotten one of my native friends in the South Seas telling me that a particular spirit was something like a ghost and something like a squirrel.

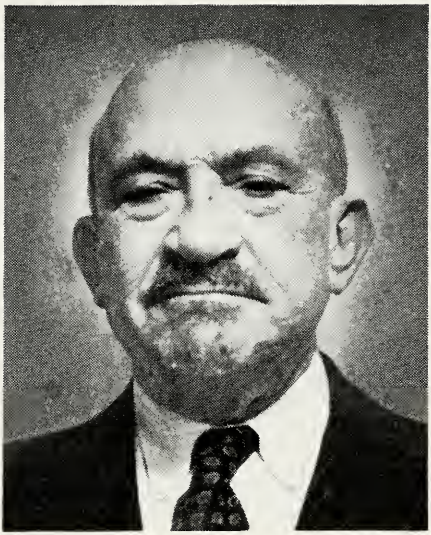
The one thing that all these beings have in common is that, no matter how bizarre their outward forms, they are human under their skins. They may have more than human powers, but they use these as men would use them. Moreover, the gods of any society tend to be like the people of that particular society. If most of the fathers are strict disciplinarians, the gods are likewise, and bad luck is regarded as a punishment for sin. If children are never punished, the gods also will be easy-going and hard luck will be regarded as an accident, something as impersonal as walking into a door in the dark. If, as in Polynesia, all but the simplest crafts are carried on by specialists, each deity will have his own province and, on a fishing expedition you will pray to one god to keep away sharks, to another to give a good wind, and to a third for a good catch.

More curious still from our point of view, there are many religions in which the gods do not concern themselves with ethics. Although they may be ready to take sides for a suitable fee, they are no more attentive to how men behave toward each other than a modern employer is toward his employees' recreations outside the factory. At the other end of the scale, we find one of the great world religions, Buddhism, which in its original form combined a high

ethical code with something very like atheism. The existence of gods was neither affirmed nor denied, but it was held that if they existed they could not help men in the search for enlightenment and release from the round of rebirths.

The idea of a single deity uniting in his person all power and all functions of help or punishment seems to have emerged very late in human history, and is still limited to Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Many religions have solved the philosophical problems of creation and of the ultimate source of power by inventing a supreme being, but such beings are usually kept very much in the background. They may even be, to quote Anatole France, "gently relegated to the abyss of first causes." The California Indians believed that after creating the world and giving power to everything in varying degree, the supreme being died, leaving the control of his handiwork to minor spirits. It seems that the idea of a supreme and universal god is too great for most men to grasp. They are more at home with small, intimate deities whose services can be secured for a moderate fee.

The scientist cannot judge of the truth or falsity of particular belief, for he has no tools with which to investigate such problems. However, the social scientist in particular can recognize the universal needs which lie at the foundation of all religions and can judge the extent to which organized sects are succeeding in meeting these needs in the face of a changing world. So long as our species remain recognizably human, there will be faith. We can only pray that those who direct that faith will use it for world betterment.



Dr. Chaim Weizmann

Scientist-Statesman

Judaism

MRS. REID: Ten days ago a great man came back to America. The heartfelt welcome that he received has been a small measure of the admiration and affection that exists for him here.

This man was born in a Russian village but, following his distinguished work as a chemist in German and Swiss universities, he became a British citizen. During the first world war when Britain was desperately seeking a chemical vital to the production of smokeless powder, Lloyd George made Dr. Weizmann director of the Admiralty Laboratories. In one month he found the solution and it was out of extractions from horse chestnuts!

After the war when he was offered a choice of honors for his discovery, he said "There is only one thing I want—a national home for my people."

This cause has been his life motive long before he was President of the World Zionist Organization or the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Always his objective has been friendship between Arabs and Jews and his chemistry brains have given substantial help to agricul-

ture in Palestine. They have also done much for synthetic rubber, aviation fuel and plastics but in this technical work an active responsibility for human beings has been inseparable.

I am proud to present to you a statesman, a scientist and the greatest living Jew. Dr. Chaim Weizmann.

DR. WEIZMANN: I am embarrassed by a double difficulty in addressing this distinguished assembly on the subject assigned to me. I am a scientist, not a philosopher. Moreover, I must express my views in a very few minutes, and though I were to speak with the tongues of men and angels, I could hardly hope to contribute anything of significance to the subject.

Yet I am deeply grateful for the invitation. The greatest part of my life outside of my scientific work has been devoted to the practical problems of the Jewish people. But I should like to believe that in pursuing the path I have chosen I have been moved by something more than simple philanthropic motives. I should like to think that I have contributed something, however humbly, to the role of the Jewish people in the general human advance, such as it is.

The question before us is whether man is a slave or a sovereign; is he the victim of circumstances, some of which he has been instrumental in creating, or is he—at least, can he become—the maker of his own destiny? What has the long history of the Jewish people to offer on this question?

On the surface it certainly looks as if the history of the Jewish people is a tragic illustration of man's helplessness. For what people has been so exposed to the play of external forces of the world as the Jews in these last two thousand years? Yet this, I believe, is only on the surface. If we look deeper, the lesson is quite another one.

Nations, like individuals, impress themselves upon the world in two ways: by what they do and what they are. The two are, of course, interdependent; character expresses itself in action, and action reveals character. But the ultimate influence of a nation, or an individual, is measured more by the amount of character revealed than by the stir produced in human events.

Action is, of course, more spectacular than character. It makes the more obvious appeal. That is true for individuals and for nations. The drama of Napoleon's near-conquest of Europe is superficially more impressive than the quiet moral picture of the soul of Abraham Lincoln. But in the last analysis Lincoln's character, working on the New World, has produced more lasting as well as more beneficent effects than Napoleon's achievements.

We are confronted by the strange paradox that character creates more lasting values than achievement. What a man is means more in the long run than what a man does. The same is true of nations.

Let us take a familiar example. Which of the two most famous Western nations of antiquity, Rome and Greece, has exerted the deeper influence on Western civilization? Rome did certain things, and Greece was certain things. Rome conquered the world and administered it. Greece did little conquering by comparison, but it was certain things: It was the thinking, feeling, esthetic spirit of the ancient world. In a certain sense—and in a certain sense only—the contradistinction between Rome and Greece also marks the difference between prophet and priest in Jewish history.

To which of these is the modern world more indebted? To the conquerors and proconsuls of Rome, to the thinkers and scientists and poets of Greece, to the prophets of Israel or to its priests? I believe the question answers itself.

If Jewish history is studied for its specific content, what constant or leitmotif do we discover? It is, I believe, the history of a people obsessed by an idea; and that idea was the perfectibility of the human being—perfectibility here, on this tiny and unhappy world of ours, not in some heaven of the future. While not denying a future existence, the Jewish philosophy concentrated itself on our particular plane. To be that which is right was its all in all.

This perfectibility as an ideal did not mean that the Jewish people considered itself perfect. On the contrary, there is no people with such a literature of self-criticisms as the Jews. The higher the aim, the lower, necessarily, the comparative achievement. But perfectibility here, and now, among ourselves has been the Jewish dream.

The persistent and obstinate monotheism of the Jews in face of all persecution has always been an accompaniment of this belief in human perfectibility. One stern God demanding the perfection of one humanity: this is almost a summary of the Jewish credo.

Indeed, it was so summarized by Hillel, the greatest of the post-Biblical Jewish sages of the pre-Christian era. Confronted by a pagan who wanted Judaism in a nutshell, as it were, Hillel replied: " 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' This is the law; all the rest is commentary."

Now I venture to submit that if a man pursues an idea, he thereby asserts his freedom and his sovereignty. For if he is only the creature of external circumstance, he cannot pursue an idea or anything else. He is not a pursuer, he is pursued; what he is and what he thinks is dictated by external circumstance. To defy external forces, to rise above circumstance, is to proclaim the sovereignty of the human spirit.

There has never been any relationship between the physical force of the Jewish people and the influence which it has exerted on the human spirit. For the physical or political power of the Jewish people has never been of much importance. Its influence never depended on

strength of any kind, political, social or financial. It depended on the strength of the idea. Therefore it was, in a double sense, a proclamation of the sovereignty of man over circumstance.

Monotheism, the supreme importance of perfectibility in this sad, sublunar world, the refusal to be bullied by superior force, the right to persist as a minority—these are the leading elements in the Jewish contribution to human progress.

It would be childish to assert that all Jews, or all groups of Jews, have been consistent contributors to this idea. From earliest times the lapses of Jews from the idea have been sternly pointed out and castigated by the teachers of the Jewish people. But fundamentally the Jewish people have fulfilled this function: the assertion of the sovereignty of the human spirit over the brutality of circumstance.

The Jewish contribution to the advance of mankind has frequently been confused with the contributions of Jews to specific phases of Western civilization. There is undoubtedly a deep connection between the large proportion of Jewish thinkers and scientists and the Jewish concentration on intellectual and moral values. There is perhaps a deeper connection between the character of their best work and the Jewish spirit that I am speaking of. We can hardly conceive of a Spinoza without reference to a Jewish tradition, affecting him profoundly in spite of himelf. The abstract structure of Einstein's great system presents a fascinating contrast with the brilliant empiricism and physical experiments of Rutherford. It is not too fanciful to relate Einstein to the Jewish world outlook and the Jewish search for the absolute. Much more definitely we may say that the disproportionate numbers of Jews who have achieved distinction in all fields of thought may be accounted for by the high standards of education which the Jews have maintained for centuries.

When I spoke of the Jews as the protagonists of the sovereignty of the idea, and therefore as the teachers of freedom, I was not thinking of theories and philosophies; or, rather, I was thinking of these only as they are incorporated in human form, in the lives of men and women, and in social instruments. The Jewish contribution to human values, wherever the Jew has been true to his character, has issued from "being." Among Jews, the notion of a philosopher who taught one system and lived according to another, who divorced himself from his theories, has always been unthinkable. A man was not considered a teacher merely because he was clever; if that which he said was not in keeping with the way he lived, and if the two together did not constitute an example, he could not be a teacher. For, it was argued, if he cannot teach himself, how can he teach others? If that which he is displeases God and man, how can that which he says be of any value?

The desire to seek perfection, to overcome the physical and find

harmony of being has been the affirmative note in Jewish history. Of course, it has not been a consistent note. It has been frustrated from without, it has faltered within. But the miracle is that it has not been stifled. It is still there, still active, still capable of much good. It is to be found wherever Jewish communities live in the tradition.

Whether the affirmations of mankind will triumph over its negations, whether the creative will triumph over the destructive, one dare not, at this point in human history, prophesy too freely. But this much one can say: among those affirmations, the one that issues from the long history of the Jews is of high value. As of old, the physical quantities involved are small in comparison with the vast problems of mankind; but as of old it may be that the influences so released by Jewish life may be out of all proportion to the physical quantities.

Barbara Ward

Foreign Editor, "The Economist" of London

Catholicism

MISS HIETT: There are a few favored people in the world about whom one can say "He could have been a success in any one of a number of fields." To apply to Barbara Ward, this statement has to be changed a little. It is not only that she has been endowed with so many natural abilities and talents that she *could* be a success in many fields. She just plain *is*.

At the advanced age of 24, she wrote a best seller, which won her a place on "The Economist" of London and she achieved her present position as Foreign Editor of "The Economist" two years later.

England knows her as well as a member of the BBC's famous "brains trust" which she left only in order to become a governor of the British Broadcasting Corporation. She is also a singer of professional standing, an expert horsewoman, a long distance swimmer and a fencer.

She has come from England to speak to us this afternoon how-

ever, in none of these capacities, but as a young woman whose shining and abiding faith can help others. Barbara Ward.

MISS WARD: In this brief session, we who are speaking to you seem to offer very wide differences in approach. Philosophy, anthropology, the East, the West, Christian and pre-Christian religious communions—all are represented. But I believe that from what each of us can say in so short a time one factor will emerge. The connection that we make between the freedom of man and his moral responsibility will prove to be very much the same. Pursue freedom backwards from those superficial levels at which it seems largely to consist in not being interfered with, and, at the deepest level of all, our testimony is that freedom lies in man's ability to choose the good and to reject evil.

And what we have to say about the nature of goodness will not differ vitally from one to another.

For when we try to define the good life we are only saying from various angles what has already been said since the dawn of human wisdom. To my mind, it is one of the errors of the last fifty years to deny that there is any common testimony of humanity to the nature of the moral law and its relation to human freedom. On the contrary, this testimony is universal and overwhelming. Whether you turn to the ancient wisdom of Lao Tse in China, to Buddhism, to the religious teaching of the Hindus, to Judaism, to the summits of Greek philosophy and above all to the testimony of the Christian faith, the answer you will receive is to a very great extent the same. The free man is the man whom neither the external pressure of the state nor the internal pressure of instincts and desires can turn from obedience to his conscience. And that conscience is in turn steadfastly devoted to the pursuit of goodness.

The free man loves his neighbors, returns good for evil, hates oppression, serves the common good. Above all he is free from hatred —racial hatred, class hatred, national hatred—but need I go on? Question every man, every philosopher, every sage who has become famous in the eyes of mankind for the purity of his life and the clearness of his moral vision, and he will draw you the same picture of the man whom "truth has made free."

But if the testimony of great men is universal and unequivocal, so is the testimony of history in the opposite sense. Every sage from Lao Tse to Socrates may have taught the Golden Rule, but every civilization from Babylon to our own day has demonstrated man's hopeless inability to follow it and thus to realize the freedom which it alone makes possible. To the voice of the saint and the philosopher raised in admonition "Love your neighbor—do good to them that hate

you. Pray for them that calumniate you"—to that voice mankind gives the universal and despairing answer "I cannot do so."

The struggle within man's own soul is a struggle which again and again ends in defeat.

Who of us—of any of us here today—does not look back on his personal life and admit, "At such and such a point, I lost control of myself. I lost my freedom in becoming the victim of passion or prejudice or pride or fear"? And perhaps today these internal inroads upon freedom are less terrible than the pressure upon moral freedom exercised by the state. The history of tyranny is as old as mankind, but in our day we have lived to see a form of tyranny more complete than any other, the totalitarian state which claims every loyalty and demands every obedience so that the affirmation of freedom—shall we say of the right to help a suffering Jew or the right to shelter a wretched "Fascist beast"?—can be made only at the risk of torture and the concentration camp. Under the double assault—the inner assault of lawless emotions and the external assault of the lawless state—the frail vessel of human freedom has always been in danger; but perhaps at no time in more danger than today.

It is against this background that I would like to tell you as simply as I can of the part which, it seems to me, the Catholic faith has played in the tremendous drama of human freedom. The background is the paradox I have already outlined, the contrast between a universal human witness to the nature of freedom, goodness and moral choice, and an equally universal human failure to realize that freedom in the face of a double attack—the assault of the immoral self and the tyranny of the immoral state. What I want to stress is the contribution of Catholicism towards the solving of this paradox. First of all, it must be said that Catholic Christianity gives the witness given by all great movements of religious thought to the nature of the moral law. It has sometimes been pointed out, in order to discredit Christianity, that parts of the Sermon on the Mount can be found in the writing, say, of Buddha. But this is not surprising, since if there is a universal moral law, it will reappear in all climates and civilizations, as do for example the great laws of science.

The important thing about Christianity to my mind was not so much that Christ told men to love their neighbors as that He offered them in a pre-eminent and unique fashion the means of doing so; the message which revitalized the old pagan world in which the tyranny of sin and passion and the tyranny of government had conspired to produce virtual despair over man's capacity to be good and free—the message which raised these men to new hope was not "Love your neighbor." They knew all about that and knew they could not do it. The message was "the Lord has risen" and that from the resurrected Christ would flow the grace and power necessary to overcome sin in

the human heart and to confront with a new moral authority the "principalities and powers" of the Roman state. The new community founded by Christ—the Church—would offer to its children the power and grace to achieve inner freedom through the acceptance and realization of the moral law and would also offer them the organization and support necessary to assert this freedom against the inroads of the state.

The appeal of the Catholic faith to me today lies in my belief that through 2,000 long years the Church has continued to offer this double safeguard of human freedom. Let me take first of all the personal issue. As I look back across the years, again and again I come upon personalities of overpowering beauty and attraction. Now it is St. Francis of Assisi loving the world so passionately that not only men but even animals were tamed by the quality of his peace-making. Now it is a Father Damian dying among the lepers, a St. John Bosco gathering the orphan children of Italy around him, a Mother Cabrini laboring among the outcast poor of New York. All these men and women have in common a warmth, a generosity, a largeness of heart, a lack of constraint and limitation which sets them apart from our ordinary blind and imprisoned humanity and proclaims the intensity of their freedom. In the saints and mystics it is almost as though we saw, for the first time, the true stature of man. This is what men look like when the command "Love thy neighbor" becomes not an impossible perfection but a daily reality. This is what is truly meant by "the glorious liberty of the Sons of God."

Now let me turn to the second aspect of the Church's contribution to the defense of human freedom. Today the most serious inroads on freedom are made by the claim of the state to swallow up more and more of the rights and responsibilities of the individual citizen, and by the demand of the state for more and more total allegiance. Now the Church, simply by existing, challenges this claim. Let me put this fact first in a negative sense. In most pre-Christian civilizations, State and Church—the king and the priest—tended to be identified. And this has also been the case in one great post-Christian civilization, the Orthodox Christianity first of Constantinople and then of Russia, in which the power of the Emperor tended to swallow up that of the Church—one reason incidentally why we see in Russia today such a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the party dictator.

But in Western civilization the claim of the Catholic Church to separate loyalty accustomed men from the first to the idea of a double allegiance, and this fact held the door open to freedom—even if it was sometimes only a crack. And the Church's defense of freedom was not limited to the defense of its own rights. It also defended certain general human rights—for instance, the right of parents and families, or the citizen's right to "due process of law." Above all, it

taught consistently that law itself is above and beyond the whims and policies of the state. Magna Carta dates from Catholic times.

Today it seems to me that this aspect of the Church's defense of freedom is absolutely vital. Only a tough organization can withstand the onslaught of modern government. Only a super-national body can resist the demands of the nation-state, and it is my experience of Europe today, here, now in 1947, that it is again and again Catholics, backed by the support of their strongly organized religious community, who are among those offering the most effective resistance to the overwhelming pretensions of the total state. I do not, of course, claim that the picture is uniform, or that the history of the Church has been invariable. In Europe under the Hapsburgs, in Spain today, Catholics, it seems to me, have succumbed to the temptation of becoming identified with the state and have thus, by confusing Church and government, tended to become instruments of tyranny.

But in general the existence of the Church as a strong, independent community claiming its own allegiance and throwing its weight behind the defense of certain basic rights, is one of the few remaining buttresses of freedom in the desperate struggle for free society in the world today.

One last word: In this defense of human freedom the Catholic Church is not, of course, alone. All great religious communities teach men to act according to their conscience, and to my mind this, in the last analysis, is both the front line and the last refuge of free men. When men and women can say as they face the terrible authority of the state, "No, on my conscience, I cannot and will not act as you command," their freedom is assured. Indeed, there is no other freedom. And when the Christian asserts conscience as his final authority, he defends not only religion but human freedom itself.

John Foster Dulles

United States Delegate to the United Nations Assembly

Protestantism

MRS. REID: The age of the final faith represented on this program might well be disputed. Many will argue that it starts from the ministry of Christ. The name indicates the 16th Century. Our speaker for this division of Christendom was the son of a Presbyterian minister and the grandson of a Secretary of State. The two influences have been perpetuated. Mr. Dulles' wide knowledge of international affairs has had the benefit of extensive experience, ever since the Versailles Peace Conference. Always, however, he has kept his identity with the religious world and, as Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches, he has become America's most distinguished Protestant layman.

We are fortunate that his duties at the United Nations as a member of the United States delegation are such that he is able to be here today. John Foster Dulles.

MR. DULLES: The people of the United States have a great heritage. We are vaguely aware of it, but we are confused about its

nature. To some it seems a material heritage. To others it seems a political heritage. It is, in its essentials, a religious heritage.

The founders of this nation were consciously launching a great experiment. It became widely known as an experiment in human freedom. So it was. But the experiment took that form because those who sponsored it were, for the most part, persons of deep religious faith. They were seeking to translate into living reality their spiritual convictions.

One of those convictions was that human beings are the children of God and as such endowed by Him with certain inalienable rights. Since those rights are given by God, no men, however powerful or however numerous, can rightfully take them away from other men, even though those others be only weak or few.

Another of their basic convictions was that there are eternal principles of truth and righteousness which are reflected in a moral law. That law is one which all men can apprehend through their consciences, and it is a law which most men freely recognize as an obligation. It establishes a duty and a code of conduct so that the freedoms to which men are entitled will not be abused as license but will be used with respect for the general welfare.

A third basic conviction was that those who found a good way of life had a duty to help others to find the same way. The American experiment was never a purely selfish effort to get something exclusive for the American people. Our founders were imbued with a deep sense of mission. Their Declaration of Independence, as President Lincoln pointed out, was not a mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland, but something "giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time—it was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all should have an equal chance."

So it is that when today we ask ourselves what religion can contribute to man, we find some of the answers plainly written in our historical experience. As spiritual convictions have found vital expression, our nation has shown true greatness. As spiritual convictions have been feeble, we have lost in internal health and unity and our external prestige has declined. It is sure that if ever the unhappy day came when spiritual convictions were generally abandoned, then our great experiment in human freedom would ingloriously collapse.

The sovereignty of man rests upon a religious estimate of his nature. Without that estimate he tends to slavery.

A society of freedom cannot exist for long except on a foundation of belief that man is a child of God. If every human being does not contain within himself a spark of the divine and a right to self-development in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience and

of his own mind, then a society which dignifies the individual is purely a matter of expediency. It may be argued that a free society is the most expedient society because it is the most productive society. Certainly societies of freedom have, through their inventiveness, resourcefulness and industriousness, developed a productivity never equaled by any society of dictatorship or despotism. But it is not possible to prove, merely on the basis of expediency, that a free society will for all time be the most productive society.

Marxists concede the immense and superior productivity which the American system has achieved. But they contend that is merely a phase of history. They say that different forms of society are adapted to different times; that there was a time when slavery was the preferred form of society; then came serfdom; then came capitalism; now comes dictatorship of the proletariat as the next phase in a great historical progression.

There is no factual way to prove or disprove estimates of the future. But the Marxist thesis must be totally rejected if one accepts the religious view of the nature of man. Under that view slavery, however expedient, was never right. Under that view the despotism of a police state can never be right. It might be that a time would come when men would be more productive and more secure if they were treated as domesticated animals and driven to pasture and back to shelter under the direction of some superior human will. It is unnecessary to argue that point if one accepts, as did our forbears, the Christian view that man is destined to be more than a material producer and that his chief end is something more than physical security. The religious conception of the nature of man is the premise and the only premise from which political freedom surely follows.

But, also, freedom is indefensible if it stands alone. Freedom must be coupled with recognition of the moral law and of the fact that men's rights carry with them duties to fellow men. This nation was launched with emphasis upon individualism because the original environment was one which called for personal resourcefulness and pioneering. The satisfaction which comes from a sense of being creative then depended more on individual than on collective effort. But extreme individualism is no integral part of our religious heritage. The Jewish and Christian faiths have at all times emphasized the duty of man to his fellows, and that duty is a fundamental of our Christian faith. The moral law is sublimely reflected by the Ten Commandments and by the injunctions: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Christ particularly emphasized these two commandments. Upon them, He said, "hang all the law and the prophets."

As any society matures and as its population becomes more dense

and its economy more complex, love of neighbor is of increasing social significance. Then individual acts sharply affect others, and it is essential that, with respect to those acts, there should be a large measure of self-control and self-discipline and a sense of being a part of a combined effort to meet a common need. The joy of creation has to be derived more from joint efforts than from efforts which are isolated. Freedom becomes increasingly an opportunity for fellowship rather than an opportunity for private indulgence. If personal freedom is exercised without regard to the fate of others, then it becomes socially intolerable and, in fact, it will disappear. Broadly speaking, it can be said that unless a society is religious it cannot be free. Without the disciplines of the moral law, freedom becomes chaotic and men accept the order of slavery.

A sense of mission is also needed if a society is to become and remain free. A people without a dynamic faith are constantly on the defensive, and that is a losing posture. But it is not enough to have a faith that is dynamic; that faith must be a righteous faith. Otherwise it will break itself against the moral law. That law is no less a reality than is physical law, and its operation, though not always immediate, is inexorable.

Today some are frightened at the prospect of a world of strongly conflicting faiths. They fear that the consequence will be world turmoil, if not world war. Strident voices say that, for us, supineness is the recipe for peace.

There is indeed danger when men seek to make their faith prevail by methods of violence, coercion and deceit. But these are not the methods of the Christian faith. Christ said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," and "Let your light so shine before men that they shall see your good works." A righteous faith prevails by appeal to the conscience and reason of men and by showing good fruits. Christians have learned, sometimes by their own bitter experience, that however good a faith may be, its proponents produce only ugly and evil things if they seek to promote their faith by methods of intolerance. That truth is a precious part of our spiritual and political heritage.

The American people must be resolved, and I am confident that they are resolved, to maintain that heritage. It makes senseless the fear, being recklessly spread, that for us to be strong in faith and works is to endanger the peace.

Freedom cannot be bought and peace cannot be had at the price of abandoning all faith that is dynamic. Those who preach that are either knaves or fools. What is essential is that men's faith should be a righteous faith, both in its substance and in its means. Our society of freedom would quickly succumb to the overlordship of others if we renounce a sense of mission in the world. We would encounter

unconquerable opposition if we sought to make our way prevail by might and not by merit. The need is for purposeful action inspired, in every aspect, by the ideals of the moral law.

Two thousand years ago Christ said, "The truth shall make you free," and "I am the way, the truth and the life." Every one of those two thousand years sustains that utterance. The church spires which silhouette the skyline of America symbolize acceptance of His way. They point to a power above us from which derives our freedom.

Julia Sampson

Conductor, Choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music

MISS HIETT: As we search for realms where men can find agreement and togetherness, there is one above all that knows no boundary of creed or race or nationality. That realm is music, and for our program we could have no finer proof, nor a more universal prayer, than the songs of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music.

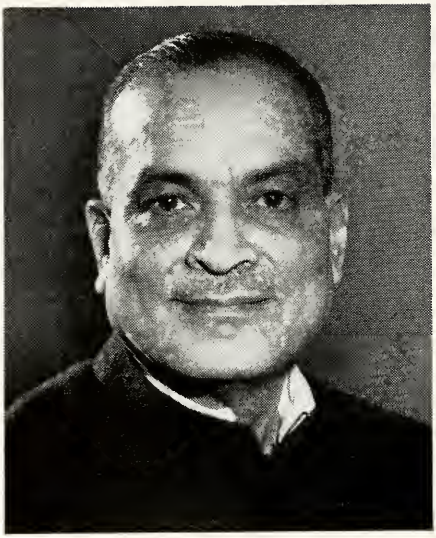
The school was founded in 1917 at the Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart by Mother Georgia Stevens and Mrs. Justine Ward. Its purpose—to preserve the Gregorian chant of the Catholic church and to give American churches a model for the correct execution of the polyphonic music of the sixteenth century.

Miss Julia Sampson, the conductor, is an alumna of the school, whose choir will sing for us now.

. . .

The choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, with conductor, Julia Sampson, at the second session of the Forum.

Gaudens Gaudebo—Mode III.....*Gregorian Chant*
(Introit: Feast of the Immaculate Conception)
Quam Pulchra Es (3 voices).....*John Dunstable (1453)*
Sanctus—Mode VIII (From Chants "ad libitum" III)
Gregorian Chant
Agnus Dei—Mode VI (From Chants "ad libitum" II)
Jesu Mi Dulcissime (3 voices).....*Felice Anerio (c. 1560)*
Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring (3 voices).....*Johann Sebastian Bach*
(Chorale from Cantata No. 147) *(1685-1750)*



Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D.

Governor Designate, United Provinces of India

Non-Violence for Modern Man

MISS HIETT: Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy is one of the most outstanding leaders of the new India. As a doctor, he leads the medical profession in his country. As an educationalist, he has been vice-chancellor of the largest university in Asia, the University of Calcutta. As a public servant, he was Mayor of Calcutta for more than ten years. He is also a scientist, a social worker and a business man. Now, after a brief assignment in our country, he is returning to India to become governor of the United Provinces.

In his approach to problems of life and society, Dr. Roy has been closely associated for a quarter of a century with Mahatma Gandhi, whose way of life has profoundly influenced him, and, I know he would say, made him a better doctor, a better educationalist, a better public servant, a better man. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.

DR. ROY: I thank the authorities of the New York Herald Tribune Forum for giving a traveler from the East the privilege of presenting to a Western audience his views regarding the present world situation, and of suggesting some remedies. As a man of science

and as a medical man, I have had ample opportunities of studying "Man" at close quarters, during health and in sickness, in the East and in the West.

I had also the rare privilege of observing men in groups, at the meetings of the United Nations organization, representatives of fifty-seven states of the world. I confess that my mind was filled with sadness and distress as I noticed that in the so-called United Nations organization, men work in an atmosphere of misunderstanding, prejudice, suspicion and distrust. Selfishness, greed and lust for power reigned supreme. And I asked myself, "What is wrong with the world?" The world today has missed something. It is at cross-roads, wondering which would be the correct path to follow, and who or what would be the correct guide out of the prevailing darkness, so that another war may be avoided, so that the future of our children and grandchildren may be secure and happy.

It seems to me that while, in theory, the democracies and the totalitarian systems of administration profess to work for the "people," they have forgotten the individual and have installed institutions and groups in his place. The needs and the care of the individual have been drowned in those of the groups, and while every attempt has been made to develop science and technology in the interests of groups and institutions, the social concepts of such progress have never been stressed, so that man today is a chained victim, instead of a free soul—"a soul who sees himself in all and all in himself." This is the position in a nutshell.

We have been told that both the two world wars were fought to save "democracy" for the world—a democracy which would ensure sanity, freedom and progress of its people; a democracy which would, in the words of Gandhiji * develop in the individual "the impulse to be loyal to the best in himself"; a democracy which, while professing to have faith in freedom, would not deny freedom to any one; a democracy which could solve the moral problems of today, the problem of decent relations between individuals and communities and countries. To those who profess that such a democracy exists, Gandhiji would say, "Turn the searchlight inwards." And then we notice that confusion, greed, lust of power, selfishness stalk the horizon. And why is it so?

A student of psychology and physiology knows that the human body works as a perfect machine on a system of checks and balances. The glands of internal secretion and their hormones activate and inhibit one another, the sympathetic and the parasympathetic systems of nerves guide and control each other, the mind controls the bodily functions, as much as they, in their turn, nourish the mind and make it function. It is only when there is an imbalance of this mechanism that disease prevails. Even so with the body politic. It can only func-

* Reverential suffix—term of respect.

tion properly if a cultural balance prevails, analogous to the biological balance in nature.

The West, in achieving marvelous progress in science and technology, has neglected to emphasize development of the social and moral concepts of such progress, so that today this very progress has become a psychological barrier to understanding and good will among men. The West failed to realize that abnormal and unbalanced growth of one phase of human endeavor may result in gigantism, but it leaves the whole system weak. The West failed to realize that a given scientific advance, say the development of the atomic bomb, may raise more problems than it solves.

The much vaunted modern democracy, so developed and such as we see in the West today, has to meet a great public challenge. Is it democratic for a few big states to decide the fate of small ones? Is it democratic for the major powers to seek their own security at the expense of security of the smaller powers? Is the big-power veto democratic? Is it right to stop the urge for freedom in or deny freedom to any country which yearns for it? Is "might is right" to be the guiding principle of democracy? Is it compatible with ideas of democracy for any such state to admit immigrants and then treat them as pariahs, denying to them democratic freedom? Is it democracy, if impelled by fear or prejudice, it denies or limits the franchise or other privileges to a portion of the community? Is it not a fact that democracy should function as an organic unit? Weakness or disease in one part, however small, will weaken or destroy the whole fabric as much as a weakness or a festering sore in one focus, in the human body, leaves it prey to disability and death.

Due to this cultural imbalance referred to above, certain attitudes have developed, in groups, in human society, e.g., the attitude of the believer in democracy toward the believer in totalitarianism, the attitude of those who have achieved scientific and technological progress toward those who are backward in these. Such attitudes give rise to individual or group delusions, e.g., the delusion underlying the doctrine of the white man's superiority over the colored peoples, the doctrine of the absolute national sovereignty of the Western democratic states, the doctrine of the imperialism practiced by the Western states. The tragedy is that any group effort to resolve such group delusions results in creating more delusions.

To make matters worse, nations and individuals today, during war and in peace time, have developed the technique of "psychological" warfare, where open avowed propaganda is avoided but a whispering campaign and other subversive techniques are resorted to, creating more delusions and implanting fear and suspicion among the adversaries. It is a known scientific truth, however, that such warfare darkens the minds of those against whom it is used, and equally of

those who use it. It is almost impossible to delude others without developing delusions one's self.

It is clear that the prevalence of such widespread delusions makes people insane and paranoic, and then illusions of persecution, of prejudice and suspicion raise their ugly heads. Without the prevalence of such temporary insanity, one cannot explain how people usually kind, unselfish, considerate and endowed with many ethical virtues, plan with absolute coolness schemes for the annihilation of fellow men whom they loved and honored before and perhaps would again love and honor after the war is over; how, during war, mutual esteem, confidence, sanctity of promises given, are all forgotten by those who claim a high place in human society.

What is the solution? It has been suggested that growth of trade and commerce unhampered by barriers and restrictions might restore the equilibrium and create mutual confidence and good will, and that peoples of the world would for their own interests, desist from disturbing such an equilibrium. But history tells us that most wars have been fought for economic reasons; control of oil and mineral deposits, ability to dump cheap products of one country into another, are the common causes given.

Then again it is suggested that the development of newer and more destructive types of armaments, through progress of science, is an antidote for war and a guaranty for peace. It is said that if all the great nations are armed cap-a-pie, it will guarantee peace because the knowledge of the havoc and holocaust that can be caused by modern weapons will act as a deterrent. And yet the history of all wars is an eloquent testimony of the fact that, in spite of the knowledge of the possession by the belligerents of powerful destructive weapons, in spite of the knowledge they possessed of the price of victory or the penalty of defeat, fighting continued.

To these problems the East has a solution to offer. The Indian, the Buddhist view, has been that one should never attempt to combat delusion by other delusions, that one can condemn delusions but not the deluded, who must not be punished or reproached for his delusion; the salt of reproof must not be rubbed into the wound of his error, he must be left to find his own way to truth. Gandhiji is prepared even to put moral pressure on the deluded one, but he is convinced that victory won by violence, even against the forces of delusion, is really a defeat—the delusion of the sword may not be opposed by the sword.

I am free to confess that the West will not accept this solution. Their argument would be that if, during the last war, the West had not mobilized a greater violence against Germany and Japan than they practiced, and killed their madmen, there would have been nothing left but delusions in the world and no weapons would be left to

combat it, not even the spiritual ones. But let me ask in all seriousness—In combating Nazism, has not the West been infected by it to a certain extent; in suppressing delusions violently, have not more delusions been engendered?

Therefore I would repeat again, the only way to dispel delusions and to remove suspicion, hatred and fear in your opponents is not to give them grounds or occasions for such delusions, and they will soon cease to fear, suspect or hate you. A prominent American writer has declared: "The time may be near—if it has not arrived already—when we must seriously consider whether it is not the best thing for the democracies in the West to disarm, even unilaterally, and to declare to the world that they would never, under any circumstances, resist aggression by force, whether the evils which armed resistance, even successful, would bring on us, would not be worse than any possible consequences of surrender."

In these words one can almost hear the message of Gandhiji, that apostle of peace and humanity, the greatest prophetic soul living in the modern world. In 1940 he made a public appeal to every Briton to lay down arms, to invite Hitler and Mussolini to take what "earthly possessions" they wanted, but never to yield their souls or minds. He asked Britons to refuse allegiance to them. Let me use Gandhiji's words explaining this message:

"If the enemy rob you of your earthly possessions," said he, "you will yield because earthly possessions have nothing to do with your souls. This does not make you a bondsman or slave of Hitler or Mussolini. But you cannot yield your soul to the conqueror because your conscience forbids you to do so. Nor will you yield your mind and succumb to temptation and be caught in the snares of greed and honeyed words, nor should you agree to owe allegiance to the enemy, because you cannot bow to the supremacy of the victor. You will not help him to attain his object. Thus will you maintain the dignity of your soul and your self-respect."

In his fight against British imperialism in India, he depended on "non-violence and truth" which he terms "eternal principles." To him both these terms are co-terminous and complemental. One can only follow "truth" through "non-violence," i.e., through a process of adjustments, compromises and understanding. Every scientific worker in a laboratory implicitly follows this process. A new discovery today does not forcibly suppress but takes into account the truth found yesterday. A newer discovery tomorrow cannot ignore the truth discovered today.

Non-violence is not a mechanical process. In pursuing it, the central attitude of life of the individual and his environments are completely altered, and his personality is changed also. "One does not become non-violent," says Gandhiji, "simply by saying that he is

so. It must be in his heart. There is then an upwelling of love and pity towards the wrongdoer which express themselves somehow and check the wrongdoer." According to him, non-violence is self-acting.

In my country today, non-violence under the guidance of Gandhiji acted well in Bengal and Delhi; it failed to suppress violence in the Punjab. But to my mind this only proves that the stock of non-violence is not sufficient to check violence; even as in the human body if infection proceeds unchecked, it only proves the insufficiency of protective substances and antibodies. It does not disprove the fact that antibodies do counteract infective agents. Under such circumstances the devotee has to perfect his technique of non-violence. But to Gandhiji, non-violence is not merely a political technique, nor even an ethical doctrine, but a way of life.

Bruce Atkinson, in a recent publication, has stated that the world needs today a man of faith and of action. He quotes Abraham Lincoln in this connection and considers Gandhiji as a spiritual leader only, a man of faith. If action means military maneuvers, Atkinson is right. But Gandhiji's fight against the British during the last twenty-five years and more, his whole public life, has been nothing but a record of action on the non-violent plane. History has recorded numerous instances of men of great faith, saints and prophets, who have preached this doctrine of non-violence because they had faith in it. But Gandhiji is the only leader of public thought and action who has tested the application of this doctrine on a mass scale and in public affairs, and obtained through it independence of his country in his lifetime. History must accept him as a man of action who successfully conducted a non-violent campaign against a powerful opponent.

While developing this technique Gandhiji, starting with the usual weaknesses of an ordinary mortal, weighed down with fears and temptations, passions and prejudices, succeeded in changing his whole personality by years of rigorous concentration on a few simple emotionally significant ideas, years of strict self-discipline and intensive self-training. He has developed within himself a peace of mind, arising out of a total integration of all the elements of his personality, with a tremendous controlled reservoir of energy which he calls "soul force." Few men at the age of seventy-eight will trudge along alone, barefooted, on village paths, in order to promote communal harmony and to bring a message of hope, courage and good will among the warring communities. This energy he imparts to those who follow him. He trains them by actions and by deeds, and not merely by precepts and dogmas. His individuality is so developed, he is so self-sufficient, so far as this type of non-violent warfare is concerned, that often he makes decisions and acts alone.

He started alone on the famous Dandi march in 1930, when he walked hundreds of miles to reach the seashore, where he intended

to establish the right of the poverty-stricken masses of India to manufacture salt out of sea water for their own consumption, which was being opposed by the authorities. He gave open and due notice to the government of his intentions and started alone. Some laughed, some scoffed at the puerile idea, but thousands soon followed him and the tremendous force released by this movement amazed, stunned and thwarted the mighty British government.

For Gandhiji, in a non-violent fight, "means" are bigger than the end. He does not believe in the dictum "End justifies the means." "If the means are truthful," says he, "honest and non-violent, the end must be likewise. You cannot achieve an iniquitous end, you cannot commit a theft through truth and non-violence."

But Gandhiji's non-violence is not merely a negation of violence, physical or mental. It has many positive facets. To an abuse hurled at him, a devotee of non-violence does not hurl back an abuse in return. He restrains himself, because he knows that whenever one wants to return one evil by another, he could only do so by violence, which increases the evil. Violence can only be met by superior violence. Such a superior violence necessarily means restriction of freedom to others—freedom to think, to speak, to judge for himself to maintain his dignity and self-respect.

A denial of such freedom, by violent methods, hampers the growth of the individual; recognition of such freedom in others removes suspicion, misunderstanding and fear. A non-violent man, therefore, gives patient hearing to his opponent, reasons with him respectfully and, if need be, combats enmity by non-violent resistance. In dealing with men, particularly those of different cult or way of thinking, he does not injure them but endures injury for himself, serves them without fear or unnaturalness, and thus the non-violent, non-co-operation technique succeeds.

The urgent need of the present day is to develop the individual, the Man. Modern individualism rests on what he "has" and not on what he "is." Gandhiji concentrates not on "taking" but on "giving," "doing" and in "being." Individualism for Gandhiji is the "maximum of freedom from external circumstances for the individual and the maximum development of his inner qualities. Therefore Gandhiji is a free man inside out." He calls upon every individual to be a free man by following his principles and adopting the "non-violent" way of life.

He has declared that non-violence is the only salvation for mankind in the present juncture, and a solution for the many baffling problems facing the world. Non-violence alone can create a bond of understanding between the victor and the vanquished, between the strong and the weak, between the big and the small, between the East and the West. To an American enquirer who asked him why he

considered that democracy could only be saved through non-violence, Gandhiji gave the following reply:

"Because democracy, so long as it is sustained by violence, cannot provide for or protect the weak. My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest will have the same opportunity as the strongest. No country in the world today shows any but patronizing regard for the weak. And it is to save such democracies that wars are being waged. Why is there any war if it is not for the satisfaction of the desire to share the spoils? India is trying to evolve true democracy, i.e., without violence. Our weapons are those of Satyagraha—expressed through hand loom (charka), the village industries, primary education through handicrafts, removal of untouchability, communal harmony, prohibition, a non-violent organization of labor. If occasion arises, such a democracy will offer non-violent resistance to evil. As yet our resistance has been that of the weak, the aim is to develop the resistance of the strong. Your wars will never ensure safety for democracy. India's experiments can and will."

I have tried, feebly and perhaps imperfectly, to place India's message, Gandhiji's message of "non-violence and truth" as I understand them, before a Western audience. I have been encouraged and emboldened to do so because I have felt, after my extensive tour in this country during the last weeks, where I met the American people, big and small, in towns and in villages, that, temperamentally, American people resemble ours. We have similar range of emotion and imagination, and we are both sensitive. I leave the understanding of this thesis to this temperamental kinship.

The world is tired of violence and there is a small voice in each one of us which asks, "When shall it all end, and how?" I suggest that we start today and take every step to restore the dignity and self-respect of Man, in every country and clime among the colored and white races. Restore to him his individuality and let him be free even as Gandhiji is free, through living a life of "non-violence and truth."

The present tangle can only be solved when free men and peoples restore to the world mutual self-respect, esteem and regard in the sincerity of opposing creeds and faiths. This only will remove distrust, jealousy and hatred, and restore the cultural equilibrium of the world. Thus only shall we avert another war. Then only shall we realize the dream of Wendell Willkie, namely, the establishment of "One World" of peace and progress, in which the progressive democracies of the West will, with enthusiasm and deliberation, include, "on the basis of cultural equality, those which they, in their supercilious ignorance, consider to be the political backwardness of Communistic Russia or the technological backwardness of Asia."

Dr. Charles Morris

Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago

Testimony of American Youth

MISS HIETT: Our next speaker will, I think, give you proof that East and West are not as far apart as we think . . . may even show possibility of their being as near as we should like them to be, after listening to Dr. Roy.

In 1942, Charles Morris, one of the most brilliant, and most original, of America's young philosophers, wrote a book called "Paths of Life: Preface to a World Religion." Since then, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, he has been trying to find out which paths of life appeal most to American young people.

His conclusions about the American character, based on thousands of answers to his questions from college students, will be published in book form early next year; but he is going to share some of them with us this afternoon.

A University of Chicago colleague of Dr. Morris', speaking of the kind of inquiry he is making, said, "The modern Mohammed starts, not with a sign nor a vision, but with a questionnaire!" Dr. Charles Morris.

DR. MORRIS: A persistent theme in the American tradition has been the conviction that among us a new kind of person, a new man and a new woman, is in process of birth. Whitman wrote in "Democratic Vistas" that "now there shall be a man cohered out of tumult and chaos," and Melville in "Pierre" that the new man was to have "nimble center, circumference elastic." An open and abundant self, delighting in its diversity and maintaining its unity through a complex interplay of its contrasting forces, is the lure held before us.

The same tradition has, however, been equally insistent upon each individual's right to be different from everybody else.

No personality type, not even that of the cohered and nimble self, was felt to be suitable for all persons. Emerson, in the essay "Nature," counseled his readers: "Build . . . your own world." And Thoreau in "Walden" said: "I desire that there be as many different persons in the world as possible; but I would have each one be very careful to find out and pursue his own way." . . . We were to be, in Whitman's words, "the modern composite nation, formed from all, with room for all."

The question immediately arises whether this is just pretty talk or whether it really discloses the American answer to man's search for himself. That the latter is true, that the ideal of the multiple self in a multiple society is still the strongest force working within us, is borne out by a study which I have been making for some years of the men and women in our colleges. I would like to present to you some of the results and say something about them.

The procedure was simple enough. Some thousand students in colleges throughout the country were asked how they would like to live. This they did by choosing among thirteen alternatives. These thirteen ways to live, though they were not named, expressed the main religious and ethical attitudes of the Orient and the Occident, such as found in Buddhism, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Stoicism, Hedonism and the rest. Some three hundred of the persons who participated were studied with more care, for we wished to find out not merely how the various ways to live were liked, but what kind of person liked what kind of life.

The results were partly such as any of us would guess, but they also dealt us some surprises. It is not news to hear that the students in our colleges generally turned thumbs down on all admonitions to renounce the world by retiring into themselves.

Few first votes went to the cultivation of the inner man. And few to doctrines which call upon the individual to be receptive, to let things and persons work upon him and through him. Passivity and inwardness are not in favor. Our young people wish very decidedly to be in and of the world.

But to be active in the world, and at their own center as "foun-

tainheads." They do not like to subordinate themselves to other persons or to society. Only five in a hundred were willing to accept sympathetic concern for other persons as the keynote of their lives, and only another five in a hundred wished to merge themselves with society for the resolute advancement of social goals. This does not indicate—as we shall see—an anti-social attitude or callousness to others. But it does mean that subordination of the self to other selves and to society is in the main voted out.

Where then do the yeas fall? Three familiar alternatives (with 33 per cent of the votes) stand out at once, old friends that almost seem to be all of us. One is, in the best sense of the word, the conservative attitude: its motto is to live rationally and with moderation; its advice is to participate actively in the social life of the community, not to change it primarily, but to understand, appreciate and preserve the best that man has attained. This program is opposed by those who believe that a continual transformation of individual and social life is necessary; their stress is upon inventiveness, problem-solving, construction. It is significant that this attitude of the innovator is stronger in the West than in the East, and the conserving attitude correspondingly weaker.

The third of these familiar attitudes finds in enjoyment the keynote of life, the enjoyment of a comfortable home, savory food, talking with friends, rest and relaxation.

Conserving, transforming, comfort-loving Americans, these, you may be saying, surely are ourselves, all of our selves. But if you say this you are in for a surprise. These are ourselves, and they do express the kinds of extraverted active in-the-worldness with which most of us live our lives. But they are not all of ourselves. At least not if we have kept in step with the younger generation.

One of the thirteen ways to live was favored head and shoulders above the others; forty out of every 100 persons gave it first choice, a higher vote than was given to all three of the next favored alternatives taken together. And this way of life is in essentials the ideal of the new men proclaimed by Whitman and Melville—a man cohered out of tumult and chaos, with center nimble and circumference elastic.

To get correctly the sense of this attitude to life before you, I wish to read six sentences which, taken together, constitute a manifesto of American college youth. These sentences occurred in a list of eighty; they are the six sentences which our subjects preferred to all others as expressing the kind of person they would like to be.

1. A person should have a sense of humor about himself, a sense of detachment about his fate, yet be able to live outwardly a life rich in enjoyment and activity.

2. We must cultivate flexibility, many-sidedness, admit diversity in ourselves, and accept the tension which this diversity produces.

3. Periods of solitude and periods of joyous celebration are both necessary to the good life.

4. One should be friendly and considerate of other persons, and yet not sacrifice the development of his unique self.

5. No scheme for living proposed by the religions and moralities is entirely suitable for every person, yet each scheme can offer something to every one; one should use all of them, and no one alone.

6. Life should contain enjoyment, action and contemplation in about equal amounts; the satisfying life is found in their dynamic integration.

Such are the results of the study which I wanted to bring before you. That they are exciting and challenging I believe you will admit. How we are to interpret and evaluate them is another and a difficult matter. But I will hazard a few comments to begin the interpretation and evaluation which they demand.

First of all, I find impressive the stubborn fact of individual differences. There is a great variety in the choices of how our young people would like to live, and this diversity is found in every region of the country, North as well as South, East as well as West. All of the thirteen alternatives find their advocates and not merely the Big Four. We have Buddhists and Taoists and Dionysians and Stoics, and the rest, among us, even if they have never called themselves by such names. Taken singly, these less-favored ways may seem unimportant, but taken together they reflect the desires of more than a fourth of the persons tested. There is evidence, which I cannot now discuss, that various kinds of persons differ radically in their fundamental needs, and that a way of life which satisfies one individual may frustrate another.

This suggests that we must add to our list of recognized tyrannies a new one: The tyranny of imposing one personality pattern on different kinds of persons. And by the same token we must add new minorities to those deserving our protection; the psychological minorities composed of those for whom the socially dominant ways of life are a yoke and a frustration.

Secondly, I am impressed with the fact that in the midst of differences our material has disclosed an attitude to life highly favored by a large number of young Americans. The strong desire among them for an open and abundant self, for a flexible and multiple self unified in and through its diversity, suggests that a new personality ideal has formed itself in our midst.

If this is so, something really important has happened, for it is around new conceptions of what men might be that new religions and new social organizations have revolved. Perhaps we are really more interesting, more complex, more dramatic than we have seemed to ourselves, or have dared to admit. Before the lure of a self of

nimble center and elastic circumference the ordinary cliches and stereotypes about America and Americans seem faded and out of date. And we begin to wonder why we pass ourselves off for less than we are, and why we acquiesce in the monotony, and uniformity, and sterility which settle down upon us like a dark cloud. Perhaps we are afraid of our riches? Afraid of becoming in fact what we are in promise and in ideal? Or perhaps we have merely been unable so far to make clear to ourselves what we want to be, and that when we do this we will shake ourselves free from lethargy and give actuality to aspiration.

Finally, I am impressed in our results with the fact that those who choose for themselves open and abundant selfhood champion friendly consideration of other persons with other ideals. Embodied in the very core of their ideal is the repudiation of the tyrannous imposition of even this ideal upon others. There is a seventh sentence in our document which is repudiated as vigorously as the other six sentences are affirmed. This sentence reads as follows: "Those who oppose or do not fully participate in the work of the community ār̄e not to be dealt with too tenderly; life can't be too fastidious." To repudiate this doctrine is to reject the totalitarian impulse lock, stock and barrel. And in the same breath to affirm that we are to remain a composite nation, formed from all, with room for all.

The dominant ideal of our young people is the ideal of an open self in an open society. They have kept faith with the democratic heritage. Their task, and ours, is to realize, to actualize, this heritage nationally and internationally. For a flexible, many-sided and open self can be maintained only in a society which is itself inventive, multiple and open. The ideal of the abundant self could appear only in an abundant society. Do we have the nerve, the verve, the elan and the inventiveness to carry through what we as a people have begun?

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr

Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary

An Adequate Faith for the World Crisis

MISS HIETT: Any explanation of why Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr has been asked to close this program would be superfluous. We have already quoted from him in introducing its subject. Ideas from his many books are integral parts of the central problem we are considering.

In one of his recent books "Children of Light and Children of Darkness," Dr. Niebuhr noted that "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible. His inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

In the moral and religious field, it is our inclination to be intolerant and therefore *unjust* to other creeds, which we must vanquish by our capacity for tolerance and justice and therefore understanding of all.

It is the moral force and uplift of such ideas as these . . . that make Dr. Niebuhr one of the greatest living theologians and the man we look to this afternoon for a statement of "An Adequate Faith for the World Crisis." Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr.

DR. NIEBUHR: We might profitably distinguish between three dimensions of the world crisis and consider what resources are required to meet our situation in each of these dimensions. In the narrowest dimension, the crisis we confront consists of the peril in which a democratic civilization stands.

The second dimension of the crisis consists of the peril in which the whole of civilization stands, whether democratic or no. It is the dimension of the crisis which would exist, even if Russia were not a difficult partner in the world community. It would exist in any event because we have not yet developed the moral imagination or the political instruments for creating a world community.

The third level of the crisis is more explicitly religious and spiritual. It is created by the fact that the vicissitudes of our generation were not anticipated in our culture. We are experiencing tragic realities for which the optimism of modern culture had not prepared us, and we are consequently threatened by despair and the sense of the meaningless of life. Our perils are most obvious and most immediate in the first dimension and least so in the third; but the perils in the third dimension may be ultimately the most serious.

Perhaps it may seem foolish to speak of moral or religious resources for overcoming the peril in the first dimension. We face a truculent and ruthless foe, who is probably not as intent upon world dominion as some people imagine but who is certainly driven by peculiar dogmas and by a probable inferiority complex to defend himself against fancied or real enemies by rejecting every offer of co-operation and by stirring up as much confusion in the world community as possible.

It would seem that what is required to meet such a foe is not some great resource of imagination but simply common sense: The common sense which counsels us to be well armed and not to allow the foe to gain the strategic advantages in any part of the world which might prompt him to risk a martial adventure against us. But though the bitter experiences of the last decade have taught us that power is inevitably a factor in international relations, we would lack wisdom if we followed these precepts of common sense alone.

The defense of a civilization requires military strategy but it also requires political and moral strategy. The best political strategy is prompted not so much by ordinary common sense as by humility—if you will, by religious humility. We call our civilization a democratic one and believe it worth defending. And so it is. But no civilization is as just, and no cause is as persuasive as it seems to its defenders and proponents. Our business is to make our cause more deserving of defense, even though we will defend it strategically without reference to its virtues but because it is ours.

This is particularly true in facing a great center of power, a

nation which has become a holy land of a secular religion. To millions of devotees, including many in our western world, Russia has falsely become a fixed point of international virtue. This is a highly implausible faith. It is made the more implausible by the fact that this holy land seems increasingly involved in every kind of political chicane and skulduggery which we once attributed only to Nazi tyrants. The fact that millions should still hold to this faith must be partly attributed to generosity of the dream of a classless and just society which originally animated the Marxist cause.

Modern Communism is corruption of utopianism and is thus different in principle from the moral cynicism of Nazism. We are therefore in a more difficult ideological battle than when we engaged the Nazis. It is a battle which we cannot win among the impoverished and insecure people of Europe and of Asia if we do not make it clearer than we have done that we stand for freedom and justice, and not for the preservation of privilege. To win the ideological battle against Communism it is not enough to point to the crass corruptions of the original dream of justice which we see in the police states of eastern Europe. It is more important to make our cause so just that it will win the allegiance not of the comfortable but of the insecure and the impoverished.

It is particularly important that America, as the most powerful and wealthiest of the nations in the Western World, should acquire a higher degree of humility. Without it we will insist upon political creeds and political forms which Europe regards not as the creed of democracy but as the characteristic prejudice of a very wealthy nation. Europe is a vast ideological middle ground between Communism and American libertarianism. We are quite wrong if we think that it does not cherish freedom as much as we do.

But it needs economic security more desperately than we. Its creeds are colored by that fact even as our creeds are colored by the fabulous character of our productivity and our immediate, though not ultimate, lack of anxiety about economic security. Without the humility and the imagination to think beyond the characteristic prejudices of American life we cannot win the ideological battle against Communism.

But even if the world's hopes had not been frustrated by the irrelevancies and the truculence which the Communist creed has introduced into our situation, we still would have been in a world crisis. For there is another dimension of the crisis. A technical civilization has produced a potential world community, but not an actual one. There would be great centers of power in the world not easily brought under the dominion of a law higher than their own will, even without this conflict between a Communist and capitalist, a totalitarian and a democratic world. Even if we survive the present tensions we

will face for decades the problem of achieving moral strength and political imagination to bring moral and political order in a world now related only by technics.

Our immediate perils tempt us to forget our more ultimate danger, caused not by Russian policy but by the inability of all nations and peoples to face new responsibilities. By clinging to ancient securities they make themselves increasingly insecure in a new situation. It is a tragic aspect of human history that men learn so little from the lessons of history. They are, as one of the prophets observed, wounded by the Divine Judge but they do not grieve; they are consumed but they will not receive correction.

An adequate faith for such a day as this must be a faith which induces repentance on the part of all nations and all peoples; and a consequent readiness to sacrifice any privilege or prestige, incompatible with community on the new and wider level of human community. No dreams of world constitutions or contrivances of international law will avail if there is not a wider and more resolute will to achieve world community than is now apparent.

The first and the second level of the world crisis: the peril in which a democratic civilization stands and in which civilization as such stands, engage the minds of our generation. These perils are obvious and immediate. I should like to suggest, however, that there is a third level or dimension of the crisis which is not so obvious but which may be more important than the others. It is the crisis in our culture caused by the fact that the faith of modern man has not prepared him for the tragedies which he experiences and does not help him to interpret his urgent tasks as meaningful.

Our culture has been dominated by one idea: The idea that history would solve all our problems. We hoped that historical growth and development would eliminate methods of force and bring all politics under the dominion of reason; that it would bring victory to democracy everywhere and eliminate tyranny; that it would abolish poverty and injustice; and that it would move inevitably toward a parliament of mankind and a federation of the world. These are false hopes.

Contemporary experience proves that history creates as many problems as it solves by creating human power and freedom. A technical civilization created a vast interdependence of nations but not a world brotherhood or even world community. It did not abolish methods of force but ushered in total wars, engaging the total resources of nations. It did not insure man's increasing security. Rather it transmuted the perils of nature into perils of history and society. It made us safer against death by epidemic and less safe against death by atomic destruction. It did not gradually change our position from that of slavery to historical process to mastery over our own

destiny. We remain now, as we have always been, both masters and tools of history. We are moved by forces vaster than our own power and are yet called upon to make fateful decisions.

It is because we had so completely miscalculated the character of human history that we are so frequently threatened by despair in this day of frustration and disappointed hopes. We fear atomic destruction partly because it is a great peril but also because it is the old peril of death in a new form. We thought we had banished the peril of death. We are driven to despair because the last war did not result in a stable peace, because we falsely thought that every task had to be justified by some completely new tomorrow. But no tomorrow is ever completely new. We must learn all over again not only that "sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof" but also the duties thereof and the hopes thereof also. We must learn to exploit the qualitative meaning of our duties and tasks today without too much regard for what tomorrow may bring forth.

We are driven to despair because we can not build out of hand the kind of stable world we desire, having discovered that recalcitrant forces in history stand against our will and our purposes. We must again acquire a faith which finds meaning in human life, even though no person or generation ever has the power to complete the ideal meaning of life. Our modern culture moves from a too simple optimism to a too deep despair: This cultural and religious confusion is dangerous for us, even on the lower levels of the crisis, because the distraction of alternate moods of unjustified hopes and unjustified pessimism prevent us from doing our duties amidst the pressing and urgent tasks of today.

An adequate faith for a day of crisis will contain what modern men have completely dismissed, namely, a tragic sense of life and a recognition of the Cross as the final center of life's meaning. The Scripture describes the works of the night, as those of sleep and drunkenness: "They that sleep, sleep in the night and they that be drunken are drunken in the night. Let us who are of the day watch and be sober." We cannot afford either the sleep of complacency or the drunkenness of hysteria. We must watch and be sober. But this watchfulness and sobriety is the fruit of a profounder sense of the meaning of our existence, than any of the credos which have recently guided us. A much more modest estimate of human power and of human virtue might bring us nearer and quicker to the goal of a tolerable peace and a sufferable world order for all nations.

Finally, we had hoped that it was a fairly simple matter to achieve a universal culture or a universal religion as the basis of a universal community. Now we realize that the universal community remains full of partial and particular elements. It is characterized by differences in political, moral, and religious ideas. There is no possibility of

achieving complete unity or identity of conviction. We must learn therefore that community with our fellow men and other nations requires not so much a common culture as a recognition of the partial and particular character of our truth and our interest.

A religion adequate for community building on a world scale must cease to identify God with any particular culture or civilization, but sense, as the prophets of Israel did, that the judgment of God stands over all nations and that His mercy is available to all who are moved by that judgment. We can achieve accord with our fellow men in the proportion in which we recognize that both they and we hold facets of the truth and are loyal to aspects of justice imperfectly.

The wide variety of human aspirations is an old fact. We now face it in the new dimension of a world community. Every form of fanaticism has achieved new proportion of evil in this wider dimension. Religious forbearance of our fellow men has become even more urgent than when the words were spoken, "Let us judge not that we be not judged."

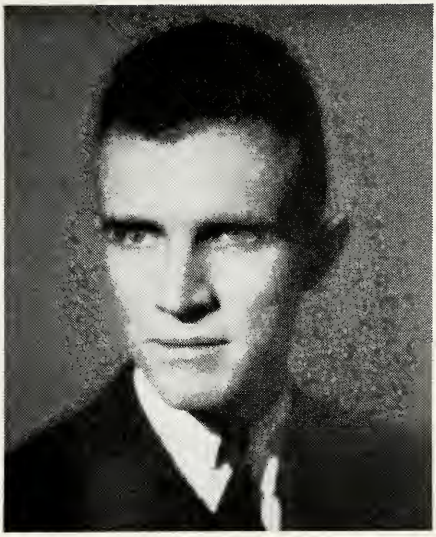
THIRD SESSION

Tuesday, October 21, 1947, 7:45 P.M.

The Force of Free Economy

"Only the productive are strong, only the strong are free."

WENDELL L. WILLKIE



Whitelaw Reid

Editor of the New York Herald Tribune

MR. REID: Before we go on the radio I want to tell you that this evening for the first time the Herald Tribune Forum is joining forces with America's Town Meeting of the Air. We are very pleased that George V. Denny, Jr., founder and moderator of the Town Meeting has made it possible for this week's session to be held here in the Ballroom. In his absence Senator Ives has been good enough to take over the responsibility of moderator. The program will be put on as it is each week at Town Hall. When it is opened by the radio announcer your voices will go out over the air. We hope therefore that you will be talking vigorously. The gavel will sound three times and the bell will ring calling the meeting to order. Questions normally taken from the audience are tonight being posed by persons sitting on the platform. On three occasions the radio announcer will take over to identify the Town Meeting to the radio audience and to explain its being held along with the Forum. Tonight it has the key assignment of covering labor-management relations in our economy and showing how we can build a society that will illustrate Mr. Willkie's advice that "Only the productive are strong, only the strong are free." Our thanks for the program go to Mr. Denny and also to Mrs. Marian Carter whose skilled hands have long been at work behind the scenes of America's Town Meeting.

America's Resources

In planning the Forum this year we have felt that almost more important than any subject was the economy of the United States. On it the health of our republic has long depended. On it, as never before, the health of Europe's democracies is also, in varying degrees, dependent. It has therefore become a first order of business to assess our economy's potential, to see how it is operating and to decide whether adjustments are required to make it better serve our needs as they exist in the world today.

With the aid of our distinguished guests, who I am sure will bring you conviction about the title of this session, "The Force of Free Economy," we will make a beginning. As a preliminary I am going to sketch a few of the factors that come to a newspaper eye, leaving to the experts with us tonight the job of putting them in proper perspective.

The Herald Tribune recently sent seven reporters on a 10,000-mile tour of the United States and Alaska in its flying newsroom to gather skeletal facts out of which our economy is compounded. I believe their findings provide a good starting point for consideration of the whole. Here are some that tell a story.

One-third of the country's top-soil has been lost due to the processes of erosion. Once it covered the surface of the United States to a depth of nine inches. Today the pad of earth has been reduced to six. The rest has gone with the wind or been washed into the oceans, taking from cultivation one-fifth of the original tillable land. Another half-million acres is being lost each year. This threat to the future of our land must be increasingly combated.

Although the country is producing more food today than at any time before the war, it has become obvious it is not enough. We are short on both farming machinery and fertilizer. A drop in the corn crop to a point 200,000,000 bushels below average is going to curtail meat production. And despite the bumper wheat crop of the 1946-47 fiscal year 75 per cent above the ten-year pre-war period, we still do not have enough wheat for both home consumption and shipments abroad adequate for the crisis in Europe. Adding to the gloom are estimates for the three-year period beginning next summer, which indicate that through 1951 we shall be able to export annually only two-thirds of the foods we did this last year.

The problem is largely one of increased United States consumption, which is now up 17 per cent over pre-war years. If Charles Luckman, head of the Citizens Food Committee, succeeds through voluntary

saving in adding 100,000,000 bushels of grain to the 470,000,000 now scheduled for current export, we may squeak by without rationing or without a return to some form of controls. But if not, we shall have to face up to a more iron-clad program.

Beneath the earth's surface we are better off. Whereas a great nation has been described as one that has both coal and iron and the "know how" to combine them in making steel, we in this country have coal to last 4,000 years and probably longer; iron that will hold out for more than 500 years.

For the last fifty years the United States has produced annually one-fourth to nearly one-half of all the coal produced in the world. Only Germany, with inferior coal, has come close to such a record.

The most accessible iron ore comes from the Mesabi Range, the largest high-grade deposit ever found. Today only one-third, or roughly 800,000,000 tons, is left, and if our present rate of consumption continues this will be used up in ten years. When this happens we shall turn to our almost limitless supply of lower grade ore. The pickings will not be easy, but the supply is considered sure-fire.

While the country has no such long-term supply of oil, estimates on the life of the nation's oil stocks run as high as fifty years. This is based on expected discoveries of new oil fields, for the amount thought to exist in those known today could be eaten up in ten years at the rate of present consumption. If and when this happens, oil can thereafter be extracted from shale or coal.

Three other metals, basic to our economy, are here in less abundance. These are copper, an essential for electrical equipment; lead, needed for batteries, and zinc, used in the process of galvanizing iron. The country was once well supplied with them, but the war has greatly reduced our reserves. While we might be self-sufficient in copper, we no longer are completely in lead and zinc. Indeed, in the case of lead there is a world-wide shortage. A prudent policy therefore calls for stock-piling all three of these metals. They are necessary supplements to iron, and we would be in a bad way if the small but needed imports were cut off by war.

Among the minor metals, the country is apt to be short on cadmium and antimony but has huge reserves of bauxite for aluminum, and infinite magnesium, which can be extracted from sea water. The one mineral of which we have little or none is tin. For this we must depend on Bolivia and the Malay States.

In the past we have been rich as Croesus in minerals, and for the most part we are still affluent. But in the case of shortages we must import the minerals and stock-pile them. Fortunately, this can be done.

Rubber, of course, is a problem all its own. At the moment our government is operating on an interim arrangement which requires large users of rubber to fill one-third of their needs through the pur-

chase of synthetic rubber. This preserves our war-time production of rubber, while not dealing a death blow to plantations in the Far East. Indications are that our natural-rubber stock pile is between 200,000 and 250,000 tons, a figure which should probably be increased eventually to 600,000. This would represent a three-year supply under war conditions. We have, therefore, a program, and the job is that of standing guard to see that it is implemented on a permanent basis.

In industry the picture is not so universally bright. Steel is at the forefront of our problems. The industry's 1,170 furnaces are turning out steel at the rate of 85,000,000 tons a year, a rate greater than any in history. But almost every user of steel would like to have more of it than he is getting. Steel sheet, used for automobiles and household appliances, is scarcest; yet plate, pipe, structural steel and almost every kind except wire, stainless steel and high-grade alloys are also scarce. The 233 blast furnaces the country now has are insufficient; and the supply of scrap metal, an important ingredient in the process of making modern steel, is at a low ebb. The net adds up to a basic shortage in our economy. It looks as if steel for Europe will mean some sacrifice—if not fewer cars and refrigerators, at least delayed ones.

Another worrying item is freight cars. American railroads need 120,000 new ones and would like 180,000. They are being worn out at the rate of 3,000 or 4,000 a month. If Europe wants additional ones or if overseas shipments take up much space, the pinch will be increased.

An aviation industry with a production rate lower than that of 1939 is an additional weak spot in our industrial armor. In order to safeguard production for the services, something must be done to raise its output to a minimum of 3,000 military planes a year.

One more problem is conveyor belting. It is wanted for mechanization of mines, production of cement, hauling of every conceivable commodity—such as coal, ore, limestone and grain.

A final, perhaps crucial, shortage is that of power. The nation's over-all power load recently reached an all-time peak of 4,940,000,000 kilowatt hours in the period of a week. Despite this, it has been estimated that the private power industry is operating on an approximate reserve of 7 per cent instead of a desirable one of 20 to 25. There is simply not enough power-generating equipment. Advocates of public power installations view the situation in more critical light than executives in private industry. But the latter are planning to meet the emergency by stepping up the United States generating capacity 30 per cent—with $5,000,000,000 of construction in the next four years. This would be the largest project ever undertaken by private initiative in a like period.

While a good many of the facts I have given are on the debit

side of the ledger, there are also credits. Outstanding ones are the machine-tool industry and food-processing machinery. The former are heavy, power-driven machines for cutting or stamping out metal, driving piles and drilling wells. They are used in an infinite number of industrial jobs. The industry is now producing at only 50 per cent of its capacity, and is therefore susceptible of rapid expansion. Manufacturers of food machinery—which cleans, peels, cores, freezes, cans or bottles fruits and vegetables—are likewise in good shape.

Finally, our merchant marine has the largest fleet of cargo vessels in the world. It has more than enough tonnage to carry our goods and those of foreign countries to whatever points in the world they are destined.

From the foregoing I think it is clear that we have the means for overcoming the problems with which we are confronted. But it is equally clear that we will need both will and planning. There was a time when the law of supply and demand took care of mechanical difficulties in our economic engine. But we no longer believe in just letting nature take its course. Society now votes for a system of some regulation—to insure fair play, to insure the main interests of the United States and to insure revenue to meet our obligations.

As the basic challenge today is that of getting the engine going, we must stake out our production goals in both agriculture and industry and do our best to reach them. Hope that we can and will lies in the circumstance that although we have shortages in given industries, these industries are in many cases producing more than ever before. Hope also lies in the fact that we are a country of 3,200,000 business concerns and about 6,000,000 more enterprises in agriculture. This means, then, that we have over 9,000,0000 laboratories for invention and the trying out of new processes.

It is almost inconceivable that the strength and flexibility of such a power plant should not be able to deal with whatever mountains may lie in its way. I think, though, that we must conscientiously back this plant both individually and at government level with a determination to make it work.

On the doorstep of Congress next January will be the question of the right kind of tax bill. One is needed which will supply the required revenue—and which will not be at odds with free enterprise. While it is a doubtful year to lower taxes in as substantial a way as we would like, they should certainly be so geared that the incentive for more work will always remain. There should never be such a business phenomenon as that, for instance, of a Hollywood actor who works on only one picture a year because there would be no monetary reward from making a second. In like manner, the incentive must also be preserved for the use of risk capital in new ventures.

One concrete suggestion is that the double-taxation inequity on

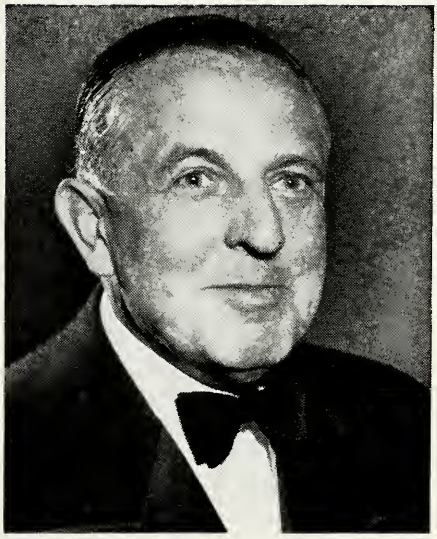
corporate income be eliminated. This is the taxing of the same money twice—first in the hands of business and then in those of an individual, after it has been paid out as a dividend. This is patently unfair and discouraging to business.

Another suggestion is that the rulings of the revenue bureau in regard to depreciation be rewritten with an eye to greater flexibility. An allowance of 25 per cent in complying with depreciation schedules would serve to reduce haggling between business and government over exact rates allowed for income deductions, and the slightly accelerated depreciation possible under the plan would give increased incentive for investing capital.

This Forum session deals primarily with the American economy. But in concentrating on domestic problems one must at the same time bear in mind that the whole of it is in turn related to the world at large.

Furthermore, it is a world that makes it necessary to re-evaluate the tariff insulation with which we have surrounded ourselves. Time was when United States industry was small and struggling. Then it had to have protection. Today there is no other nation's industry that can touch it. Yet with most of the world's gold supply in Kentucky there are no countries in a position to buy its products. The dilemma of the foreign countries seems possible of solution only through some sale of their products in the United States—in order to give them money with which to pay for ours.

With this in mind, the news from Washington that William Clayton may have succeeded in negotiating seventeen trade agreements at the International Trade Organization meeting in Geneva seems a hopeful sign. In all of these some tariff reduction is involved. Those which appear to be definitely assured of conclusion are with Norway, Lebanon, Syria, Chile and Cuba. Prospects of agreement are also reported to be good in the case of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, India, China and Brazil. There is even some hope that an understanding will be reached between us and the British Empire nations—with the prospect of a change in the Empire preference system. As yet there is no word on what the percentage will be in the cuts or exactly what commodities will be covered. In general, though, a lowering of barriers in this big block of countries would seem to represent real headway in making one section of the world a sensible operating unit. Only when such agreements become possible across the face of the earth can we begin to believe that this is indeed one world.



Paul G. Hoffman

Chairman, Committee for Economic Development

Definition of American Economy

MR. REID: I now have the pleasure of turning over the floor to a man whose own objectives through the years are almost one with the needs of the country. In 1942, he along with a group of other business men established the Committee for Economic Development as a step toward preparing the nation's industry to withstand the shock of peace. More than a year ago this committee outlined a program of research and high-level production which is today paying dividends. Known as a salesman of ideas as well as one of industrial products he rates nothing more important than making the philosophy of a free and lasting economy a winner in the arena of ideologies. I am glad to introduce to you the President of the Studebaker Corporation and a member of Secretary Harriman's Advisory Council for implementation of the Marshall Plan, Paul G. Hoffman. He will give us a definition of American economy. Mr. Hoffman.

MR. HOFFMAN: Before attempting to define the American economy I should like, first, to tell you what it is not, and, second, to

suggest certain criteria by which, in my opinion, any economic system should be judged.

The American economic system is a form of capitalism. Therefore, in its fundamental concept it is the opposite of all systems in which the state rather than the citizens own the tools of production. But it also differs sharply from the capitalism of pre-war England, France, Germany and Italy. The capitalism of those countries was marked by state-protected cartels and monopolies. Our system differs even more sharply from that theoretical capitalism of Herr Marx, which exacts its unholy profits largely through enslaving and exploiting the proletariat.

American capitalism is as American as baseball. Into its structure has gone the thinking of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and hosts of Senators and Congressmen. Business statesmen and inventors such as Eli Whitney, Cyrus McCormick and Thomas Edison, have made their contributions. So have labor leaders such as John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers. So have untold and unsung millions of ordinary workers and business men. Our system has been unchanging in its emphasis on freedom for the individual, on competition, on a more and more equitable distribution of created wealth. Never has it been static or fixed but, rather, fluid and forward moving. It was vibrant with life in 1777, in 1877, and it is a vibrant, living organism today in 1947.

The fact that American capitalism differs, not only from collectivism, but also from the traditional capitalism of Europe, does not of itself, of course, give any measure of its merit. I suggest that because it is people who are important, that an economic system should be judged by what it does for people and to people.

Specifically, how does it rate as a creator of wealth and a distributor of wealth, and how does it affect the opportunity of people as individuals to make maximum use of their capacities and to grow and develop socially, intellectually and spiritually as well as materially?

If the criteria which I have suggested are sound, then we can say with confidence that the record of American capitalism is noteworthy. No economic system has ever created so much wealth in so short a time. And in no other country since the beginning of time have so many people had such rich opportunities to make use of their capacities and to grow intellectually and spiritually.

A few statistics will tell the story. In 1900, we in the United States of America, with approximately 5 per cent of the world's population, held 15 per cent of the world's tangible wealth. In 1940, with 6 per cent of the world's population, we held almost 50 per cent of the wealth—and our wealth was sufficiently well distributed to make our standard of living the envy of the rest of the world.

Yes, we have every right to take deep pride in the record of American capitalism to date, but we should remember that there are still too many people whose incomes are low and whose opportunities are limited. Therefore, the progress made up to now should serve merely as a challenge to our generation to so improve the effectiveness of our system that it will yield ever-increasing opportunities for more and more of our people.

Assuming adequate natural resources, the dynamism of an economy depends substantially on how much use is made of the inventiveness and resourcefulness of its people, and upon how well they work together. We have worked together quite well here in these United States because team play is natural to Americans. We have worked hard and thought hard because there have been rich rewards for so doing, and reasonable penalties for inaction.

Of course, the opportunity to use rewards and penalties most effectively lies in the field of private enterprise. The private concern can offer far greater incentives to its management and its employees. Because people are people, greater incentives call forth greater effort. That's why—if we are going to keep our economy dynamic—private enterprise must continue to have the predominant role.

A second major characteristic of our economy has been its instability. In the past century we have had twenty-six depressions, culminating in the great bust of the '30s. Why have we had to contend with the boom-bust cycle? The answer is simple. Instability in our economy results from instability in effective market demand. But the answer as to why market demand is unstable is not simple. It is very complex indeed. Market demand is the total amount that individuals, businesses, governments and foreign purchasers are willing and able to buy. The "willingness" and the "ability" are equally essential. No amount of money or credit or income would be large enough to assure adequate demand if individuals and businesses will not use it for consumption or investment. Purchasing power is indispensable and strongly influences the willingness—but ability to buy alone does not create demand.

Paradoxically, this question of willingness to spend becomes a more significant factor with every increase in our standard of living. If most of use are barely able to earn a living, we will have little choice as to what we buy or when we buy it. Our money will go for food, clothing and shelter. On the other hand, the more money we have beyond what we must use for basic needs, the more chance we have to choose what we buy and the larger the number of purchases which we can—and often do—postpone even if we have money in the bank.

What is true of the individual buyer is true of business. Business can also postpone many of its purchases. Business men will make

investments in capital goods only if there is promise of a reasonable profit; and when chances of profit are dreary, such purchases are often put off even though ample cash reserves are on hand.

The amount of money available for spending beyond basic needs is far larger than most of us realize. It is estimated, for example, that in 1946 not less than sixty billion dollars were spent for purchases which could have been postponed. If all this spending had been withheld, the country would have gone into a disastrous tailspin.

It is against the background of these various factors which influence market demand that we must develop a program to moderate its fluctuations. The program must recognize, of course, the necessity of maintaining adequate purchasing power, but it must also take into full account the importance of giving individuals confidence in the continuity of their incomes, and business men confidence in the prospects for continued profitable operations.

While we are seeking measures to minimize the instability of our economic system and thus correct its weakness, we must constantly keep in mind that its strength lies in its natural lusty vitality. That we must not lose. Otherwise, we may end up with a stabilized poverty so characteristic of the tired, regimented old-world economies.

Now comes the $64 question. What kind of a program will yield us dynamic stability? Perhaps you agree that the complexities of the problem are such that (1) it will take the collective wisdom of all of us—government, business, labor, agriculture and the educators—to help us work our way toward our goal, and (2) that there is no money magic, no one formula, no one cure for the boom-bust cycle.

Nevertheless, if we fail to check a climactic boom, or if we have a disastrous depression, it will not be because of an act of God or a convulsion of nature. It will be because of the acts of men and women—American men and women, American leaders—you, and others like you. Looking backward, we can see that all past depressions were caused by things men did (things which they could have refrained from doing) and by things they failed to do (which they could have done). This being so, if men act more sensibly in the future than they have in the past, fluctuations in the business cycle can be moderated. There is no excuse for either violent booms or busts. By adopting appropriate measures the drop between the peaks and valleys can, I believe, be held to fluctuations of 20 per cent or perhaps 15 per cent. We can live with that; we cannot live with a crash such as that which took place between 1929 and 1932, when national income dropped more than 50 per cent.

To achieve this goal of reducing the range in fluctuations from 50 per cent to 15 per cent we must have action on many fronts. For example, business can and should do these things to help make our economy more dynamic and more stable:

First, promote new products and services.

Second, encourage the growth and development of employees. It is people who make a business. Show me a business whose people are growing, and I will show you a business that is making a true contribution toward a dynamic America.

Third, operate profitably. Only a profitable business can offer security to its employees.

Fourth, regularize employment to the greatest extent possible.

Fifth, exercise scientific control of sales expenditures. If we are to have a stabilized market demand, selling pressures should be maintained—perhaps increased, at the first sign of a decline in business.

Now what can government do? Among the more important areas in which government should take action are the following:

First, we need a complete recast of our tax system. As presently constituted, it tends to promote fluctuations in spending and to stop the flow of capital into new enterprises.

Second, we should expand the coverage of unemployment compensation insurance—as far as practical to all workers. Unemployment compensation insurance gives to people the confidence in continuity of basic income which is so essential to the achievement of greater stability in our economy.

Third, we need better timing of the construction of public works, which should be expanded when the level of business activity is low.

Fourth, we must so manage our huge public debt that its potential contribution toward greater stability can be realized. There are also possibilities for stabilizing the availability of credit. Credit has often been too easy to get when times were good, too hard to get when times were tough.

Fifth, there is need for constant vigilance on the part of government to see that competition is kept lively—that monopolistic practices are outlawed.

It would be presumptuous of me to offer proposals as to the measures which can be applied to promote dynamic stability in the fields of agriculture, labor and education. In each area there are opportunities for significant contributions.

The goal for which all of us should strive seems clear to me. We should attempt within the next twenty-five years to match the progress which has been made in the last fifty. Why isn't such a goal reasonable? There are more of us, and the tempo of our lives is faster. Why shouldn't we double the standard of living for the average man in the next twenty-five years? Why shouldn't we come close to achieving the great American dream of creating conditions which will assure every American, regardless of race or creed, the opportunity to realize to the fullest on his capacities, and to grow and develop to the limit of his potentialities, materially, intellectually and spiritually?

Left to right: Eric Johnston, Major George L. Berry, John W. Gibson, Benjamin F. Fairless, speakers and Senator Irving M. Ives, moderator, during the broadcast of "America's Town Meeting of the Air," which was part of the third session.

A.B.C. ANNOUNCER: The New York Herald Tribune presents America's Town Meeting of the Air.

"How Can We Keep America's Economy Free and Strong?" Hear Eric Johnston, Benjamin Fairless, John W. Gibson and Major George L. Berry. Hear both sides on Town Meeting Tonight. Everybody listen.

Tonight your Town Meeting joins its New York sponsor, the New York Herald Tribune here at the Waldorf-Astoria for a discussion which is a part of the Sixteenth Annual New York Herald Tribune Forum.

Here, in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, Editor of the New York Herald Tribune, will present the Moderator:

MR. REID: We are fortunate to have tonight's Labor-Management discussion in the hands of a man who has been consistently objective in his work on human relations, first during his long service in the State Legislature where he was responsible for the passage of the Fair Employment Practice Commission and now in

Irving M. Ives

Moderator; Senator from New York

the national Senate. For his stand on the Taft-Hartley Act he has been criticized by both sides—a healthy sign that he acted independently without considering any special interest. In the absence of Town Hall's regular moderator, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr., our guest moderator will be the Honorable Irving Ives, Republican Senator from New York.

MR. IVES: It gives me great pleasure on this "Town Meeting" program to have this chance to appear tonight, an occasion where the "Town Meeting" is incorporated with the sixteenth annual New York Herald Tribune Forum. I think that's a remarkable combination.

As stated by the Town Crier, the question for discussion is "How Can We Keep America's Economy Free and Strong?" Obviously, the great problem facing us today is how to obtain greater production. In truth, the great problem of the future seems to be how to have increasing productivity; how to get the fullest production from the man or woman in the shop; how for this purpose the "know how" of management can best be utilized; how in this endeavor ownership can best give support. These are questions to which proper answers must be found if we in America are to enjoy future prosperity and happiness. Can the relationship among labor, management and ownership

bring about these results through the exercise of the voluntary processes? Can we meet the demands for goods both at home and abroad without new government controls?

Can we have such controls without greater government control over labor-management relations?

Our four distinguished guest speakers, representing business, management, labor and government, in their consideration of the main question, will discuss some of these other questions which I have raised. We expect that out of this discussion will come general agreement on at least a few fundamentals, and that our effort tonight will help to clarify some of the grave issues and problems now confronting the American people.

Our first speaker is a former president of the Michigan State Council of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. He was chairman of the Department of Labor and Industries for the State of Michigan from 1941 to 1943, and has a distinguished record of achievement in the establishment of industrial health and safety programs. I present Mr. John W. Gibson, Assistant Secretary of Labor. Mr. Gibson.

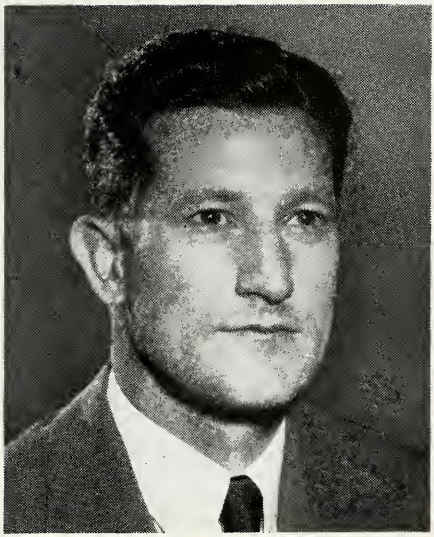
MR. GIBSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If we're going to answer the question, "How can we keep our economy strong and free?" we ought to be able to tell our listeners what we mean when we say "strong economy" and "free economy," since these words may, and probably do, mean different things to each of us.

A strong economy should meet the needs of all the people—the mill, mine and factory worker, clerk, stenographer, farmer, doctor, lawyer, merchant, teacher and manager. It must give all of them employment and income which will provide at the very least a decent standard of living, as we understand a decent standard of living in this country. Employment and income at these levels must be permanent.

A free economy should protect and guarantee the right of the individual to enter any business he wants, work at any trade or occupation, set a fair value on his goods or services, sell or refuse his goods or services—work or refuse to work.

The United States is one of the few countries left in the world trying to preserve these essential freedoms. In all countries people undoubtedly want to attain our standard of living, even if they're willing, temporarily at least, to settle for less. The difference is that many of them believe they cannot have a strong economy except at the expense of their personal freedom. In this country we believe that our economy can be both strong and free.

Freedom does not mean that everybody can do anything and everything he feels like doing. Freedom imposes on each of us certain



John W. Gibson

Assistant Secretary of Labor

restraints and obligations. In a simple economy, it's enough to say "you can't steal" or "you can't cheat," but in the kind of a complicated economy we have today, with its world as well as domestic ramifications, the rules become more complex. But the economy is still free, because the restraints are self-imposed and enforced by the people through responsible, representative government, and the people can change the rules when they see fit.

A free economy, then, is a strong economy. If profits are fair, there'll be incentive to expand production, which is one way of raising our standard of living. If wages are high enough, workers will have the purchasing power to buy the goods they produce and to enjoy the kind of standard of living they're creating with their work. Prices determine how large profits will be and how much wages will buy. They are inter-dependent. If one of them gets out of balance, the whole economy is affected.

How do the four "P's" of our economy—prices, profits, production and pay checks—line up today? Production is at the highest peace-time level in history.

Despite this fact, we have many shortages at home and find it difficult to supply the things the rest of the world needs to achieve a

healthy and stable economy. It was the removal of price controls before supply and demand became more nearly equalized that sent prices skyward. As a result, profits and retail prices are the highest on record. But we're weak in the pay-roll department because wages have lagged behind prices and have not been able to catch up. Wages have not been the primary cause of price increases. On the contrary, price increases have been the greatest in agricultural products on commodity exchanges where wages are a negligible factor.

Even in those products where industrial wages are an important element in production, such as coal, steel and processed foods, price rises have exceeded wage increases granted. Part of the price increases has gone to pay for speculative increases in the costs of scrap steel, grains, cotton and other basic raw materials. And part has gone into the highest profits ever earned by American industry.

As a matter of fact, wage increases were necessary to maintain the purchasing power of millions of workers. Wage increases strengthened our economy and have helped to keep more than 60,000,000 of our people at work—otherwise, you and I might be discussing another question, "Shall we revive W. P. A.?"

We are not going to be able to maintain full employment unless we expand our productive capacity for domestic and world needs.

Industry must use its great profits for plant expansion. The surest way business and industry can bring on a depression is to hoard its profits against a possible depression.

So long as demand greatly exceeds supply and a sellers' market instead of a buyers' market exists, there will continue to be a one-way pressure on prices, which are bound to go even higher. During this emergency we Americans must face the issue tonight's program has raised. Can we make a set of emergency rules that will restore and maintain the balance between the four "P's" of our economy—prices, profits, production and pay checks—without interfering with our essential freedoms?

Benjamin F. Fairless

President, United States Steel Corporation

SENATOR IVES: Our next speaker is a former school teacher, having worked his way through college by teaching. By profession, however, he is a civil engineer, who, aside from a period of time when he was engaged in railroading, has devoted his career almost exclusively to the steel industry. He is now president of the United States Steel Corporation. I present Mr. Benjamin F. Fairless.

MR. FAIRLESS: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. Gibson, there is one matter which is fundamental to a free and strong America. It is a sound labor-management relationship. You said little on that point. I have been asked to speak tonight on "Management's Responsibility in Labor Relations." I am glad to do so and to be specific and definite. Unless we reach understanding between labor and management, it will become increasingly difficult to keep America strong and free.

My creed is a very simple one. I believe in a free society. I believe that rights and privileges must be balanced by duties and responsibilities. I believe that through such balance all will be assured a fair opportunity for freedom. I believe, too, that in this way we can prevent abuse from concentration of power.

I believe in a governmental atmosphere in which all people have maximum freedom to work together in the common interest. I believe in such restraints as may be needed to protect the welfare of all.

Finally, I believe that it is the responsibility of management in labor relations to be intelligent, fair and efficient. I believe that by so being management may best help bring about a consistently rising standard of living for all.

But these are just words. We need more than words from both management and labor. Attitudes behind words are important. My attitude, and the management policy of United States Steel, is not phrased only in nice-sounding words. It is given expression in the labor agreements entered into last April between the United Steelworkers of America and the steel-producing subsidiaries of United States Steel.

The first section of those agreements is important. It sets forth that our purpose is the promotion of peaceful relations with employees, uninterrupted steel production and the highest level of performance consistent with safety, good health, and sustained effort.

The agreement commits the company and the union to the mutual encouragement of the highest possible degree of free, co-operative relationships between their respective representatives at all levels and with and between all employees.

The officers of the companies and the union flatly set forth their realization that this goal depends on more than words—that it depends primarily on attitudes between people in the companies and the union and at all levels of responsibility.

Management and the union have agreed that those proper attitudes must be based on full understanding of and regard for the respective rights and responsibilities of both the company and the union. They have set forth that these attitudes are most important in the plant in the day-to-day operation and administration of the labor agreement. The agreement declares that both company and union officials believe that the attitudes sought will be encouraged when it is clear that there is no anti-union nor anti-company feeling on the part of the top officials of either the companies or the union. The agreement says that both company and union officials are sincerely concerned with the best interests and well-being of the business and of all employees.

Let me assure you these are not just words. We've done something about it. The agreement stipulates that there must be quarterly meetings between company and union officials. It says that such meetings will demonstrate a sincere attempt to accomplish good industrial relations. It goes on to say that the company and union

officials believe that they—as men of good will with sound purpose—may by this procedure best protect private enterprise and its efficiency, as well as the legitimate interest of their respective organizations within the framework of a democratic society in which regard for fact and fairness is essential.

We don't believe that an agreement can be negotiated every year or two years without careful appraisal in the meantime by both sides of the way it works. We're getting together in the meantime. Mr. Murray and I, together with associates, will from time to time review our problems. Certainly this spirit of understanding and the way we are implementing it should assure co-operative labor-management relations in United States Steel.

There you have my creed and its practical application. It will surprise me if we don't find out that many matters which, on the surface, may appear conflicting will be found to be identical.

Major George L. Berry

President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America

SENATOR IVES: Our third speaker is a veteran of World War I and an expert on labor problems, both at home and in Europe. He has spent the greater portion of his life in the study of these problems. He has occupied important governmental positions and is a former United States Senator for the State of Tennessee.

I present Major George L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America. Major Berry.

MAJOR BERRY: I'm certain that all present will be happy to know of the very substantial progress made with the United States Steel Corporation and its employees. While nothing was said with reference to arbitration, I'm taking the liberty of congratulating Mr. Fairless and to present to you here an example of the effectiveness of co-operation between the newspaper-magazine industry of America and the International Pressmen's Union, which I have the honor to represent.

Our text, of course, is that we assert that our liberties, freedom of action and the fundamental basis upon which democracy rests is free enterprise.

We assert that initiative and pioneership are inherent and instinctive in the life of man, and any attempt to abridge it is in contravention to the planning of man.

The United States has been blessed with that type of freedom that has made creative enterprise and the type of progress that is without parallel in the history of mankind. No one can doubt the accuracy of this statement when on this day the whole world looks to the United States for aid and comfort through our industrial and agricultural economy.

The foundation upon which our economic success rests is in the recognition of the fact that in free enterprise we have three inseparable human units—the investor, management and labor. The elimination of even one of the tripartite arrangement would destroy the whole of enterprise.

Of course, differences arise between the investor and management as to the equities involved in the distribution of the wealth they create. There are times when one or more of the trio undertakes to accept unto themselves by different processes of force a share of the wealth jointly created which is not justified by the facts, and thus wasteful results ensue.

The International Printing Pressmen's Union has undertaken to meet these weaknesses and has, in consequence, established a policy of arbitration between the American Newspaper Publishers Association and our organization.

For more than forty years we have had an international arbitration contract with the American Newspaper Publishers Association and local contractual committals for arbitration in the commercial and specialty fields, and we are now in the process of extending these agreements for an additional five-year period. Our joint interest —the industry—has progressed, and those who are dependent upon its prosperity and stability have prospered.

The result from the policy referred to must of necessity be the answer, and the answer is that this organization has grown to be the largest printing-trade union in the world, that it has received in compensation rates and over-all conditions of employment the highest standard of any printing-trades union in the world. Now, during this long tenure of peace, we have been able to save our moneys and expend them judiciously, and today we have the largest technical trade school in the world dedicated to printing. We have our tubercular sanatorium, home for aged and incapacitated members of the union, our mortuary fund and pension systems. The town in which our offices and institutions are located is named for the Pressmen's International Union. Thus we have saved our money as a result of peace, and have invested it in the interest of humanity and education, and we pride ourselves on being a true and genuine American trades union.

Eric Johnston

President, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.

SENATOR IVES: Our last speaker is a well known and highly regarded American both at home and abroad. A manufacturer by profession, he was a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and is now president of the Motion Picture Association of America. I present Mr. Eric Johnston.

MR. JOHNSTON: Senator Ives, my friends in this audience and on the air. I'm the fourth speaker on this program, and there's no good in the number four. In a horse race you pay only to win, to place and to show. In a bridge game it's three that have all the fun, the fourth is, well, he's only a dummy. I don't know why they have a fourth speaker tonight. It's probably to pass the praises to the three speakers who have preceded me. And I can do that with a great deal of gusto, but I can also be like Lujack, of Notre Dame, and kick a little as well.

I agree with the gentlemen who have preceded me that industrial peace is the cornerstone of a free and strong economy. We all know that conflict within has destroyed more nations than the enemy from without. Our nation cannot long remain free and strong if

class conflict and industrial warfare sap the strength and draw blood from our economic system.

But industrial peace is not an end in itself. Management and labor might get along together as well as a couple of love birds, but that doesn't always mean the economy is either free or strong. It is conceivable that they might conspire together against the consumer, and sometimes they have.

The end product of industry must be greater production and a higher standard of living for all our people. The only way to increase our standard of living is through increased production per man-hour—higher productivity. What do I mean by higher productivity? I mean the greater production of wealth. The wealth of the world has been destroyed, hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of it by war. If we're going to regain what we had before the war, let alone increase the standard of living of the peoples of the world, we must produce more wealth.

By increasing production I do not mean speed-up systems or slave labor. Increased productivity comes from three sources: the better skills of labor, the improved technological "know how" management and from better machines. The world looks with amazement on the American performance of doubling our standard of living in the last forty years. We can double it again, and we can do it in half that time. In twenty years, if we continue to increase our productivity, every man, woman and child of us can be twice as well off as we are today.

The challenge today is to move forward forcefully with increased production. The challenge was never greater. It is unmistakable. It must be done. We live today in a planet of two worlds. One world, led by Russia, is promoting revolution, chaos and the class struggle. America, the acknowledged leader of the other world, is promoting jobs, freedom and recovery. Never before have there been two worlds so diametrically opposed in word and deed.

This world role of ours gives us a big job to do—the biggest job we've ever had. It's this—to fortify our system, to keep it strong and to keep it free; to give every one a greater opportunity for a greater stake and status in our system. We want a strong America for our own sakes. We must have a strong America to assist other nations who look to us for leadership. I believe that we can fortify our system to remain strong and free, and in so doing be the greatest single force for peace.

Now that is easy to say, but the question is how? I know of no five-minute formula. I don't think I can give it to you in ten easy lessons.

Our main goal is to give us a more stable economy by whittling down the extremes of booms and busts. And there are specific things

we can do about that. Our opponents abroad tell us that they have the answer to a stable economy, and, confidentially, they have. Russian economy has been stable throughout her history. She has had a permanent depression. We can't completely eliminate some ups and downs in a free economy, but we can provide greater stability and security. It is security and stability that people want today. Fear of another depression is the big hangover from the 1930s.

We are all familiar with the mechanical and legislative devices constantly being advanced as buffers against booms and busts. Some are good; some are bad. I am not going to labor over these devices against booms or busts. Instead I want to mention something else.

We talk a lot about a strong America in materialistic terms, but those are only a yardstick. Underlying everything else we need a sense of economic morality, a consciousness that freedom of choice and action must be measured by the yardstick of the common good. As individuals and as members of economic groups within our system, we are interdependent as never before. When any one economic segment in that system takes advantage of its power at the expense of the rest of us, the stability and security of the entire system is jeopardized.

Economic morality is no more impossibly idealistic than government by majority; protection of the rights of minorities; free elections and equal justice through trial by jury and impartial courts.

Those things once existed only in the dreams of a few men. But they became realities. They came to be accepted as a matter of fact, unchallenged, everlasting, a part of the very fiber of civilized man. Nowhere have those concepts reached greater acceptance, expression and application than here in the United States of America. It can be the same with economic morality. Indeed, it must be our strength if we are to continue and expand.

Those who exercise freedom of choice—both individuals and groups—must measure their decisions by the yardstick of the common good.

America can be strong if labor and management co-operate to produce. It can be free if it expands freedom to choose and act.

It can be strong and free if we have an economic morality. Never before in the history of the world were a people and geography thrown together into such favorable circumstances as here in the United States of America. It would seem that a kindly Providence which had wrought this miracle was eagerly watching how man's capacity for grandeur was working out. If we can remain strong and free, then we can continue to export freedom as we have since 1776, and we can continue to be the hope of the peoples of all the world.

SENATOR IVES: Now if the speakers will kindly group themselves around these microphones we'll go into a question period for them only. I think, Mr. Johnston, you wound up this over-all discussion; perhaps you wish to start the question period.

MR. JOHNSTON: I hate to talk again, but may I ask Mr. Gibson a question? I believe in high levels of employment, opportunities and jobs for all, but that means that labor has an unusual bargaining position with management, because management must bid for labor. Is labor, under these circumstances, desirous of getting all that they can, or are they willing to accept wage increases based only on increased productivity a man-hour?

MR. GIBSON: Well, in the first place, Mr. Johnston, I think it ought to be pointed out that there's a difference between full employment and high levels of employment. You used the term "high levels of employment." That doesn't necessarily mean that management has to do any great bidding for man power. I think, too, in the last year that we've had a sample of what that might mean.

While we've had a high level of employment during the past few months, wages have gone up slightly over 15 per cent. But prices have gone up something over 20 per cent. Now, wages, to the worker, are only good so far as they'll purchase things for him to buy, and since that's the basic criterion of wages, I don't think that workers are going to be willing to give up any bargaining power they might acquire through high levels of employment. In answer to your last question, which is increased productivity, individual worker initiative alone doesn't control productivity. It may be a factor, but it's not a controlling factor. Technological advancements and developments in industry perhaps play a much greater role than individual worker initiative, and I feel sure that, since that's a fact, workers would not be willing to tie their future wage levels solely to a question of increased productivity. Sub-standard wages, too, can't be dealt with in that manner.

SENATOR IVES: Is there a question you want to ask, Mr. Gibson?

MR. GIBSON: Yes, I'd like to direct a question at Mr. Fairless. One of the nation's problems today is steel. Steel shortages continue to curtail production. Don't we need an immediate substantial expansion of steel capacity?

SENATOR IVES: All right, Mr. Fairless, this is yours.

MR. FAIRLESS: Mr. Gibson, I was frightened. I was afraid you might not have asked me this question. I'm so happy to answer it, and I believe I have a satisfactory answer to your question.

First, it is true that the demand for many steel products is temporarily in excess of current supply. However, the unprecedented demand for steel is gradually being met by United States Steel and other steel companies. One of the principal difficulties in meeting present demands was the industry's loss of 18,000,000 tons of steel production due to steel and coal strikes since V-J Day.

Second, the management of United States Steel has never failed to increase its facilities to help meet the steel needs of the country. We laid plans for substantial additions and improvements long before V-J Day, and immediately thereafter began work on this program. Many of the additions and improvements are now nearing completion, and many more will be finished in 1948 and '49.

In all, United States Steel has obligated itself to spend one-half billion dollars in construction of new facilities in steel. This money is being spent currently at the rate of $20,000,000 a month.

This year United States Steel will produce 61 per cent more steel than it did in 1939, the last peace-time year before the war. The capacity of our mills was increased by 2,000,000 tons, or 7¼ per cent, during the early part of the war. Thus United States Steel has always endeavored and will continue to keep pace with the country's need for steel.

SENATOR IVES: How about a question from you, Mr. Fairless?

MR. FAIRLESS: I should like to ask Major Berry a question in respect to arbitration. My question is: In the event that the union and management fail to agree in respect to a wage increase, should that question be placed before arbitration?

MAJOR BERRY: Yes, our differences in matters of wages and working conditions have to go through the processes of local arbitration and then finally to international arbitration. Meantime conditions existing at the time of the dispute continue uninterrupted and the decision of international arbitration is final and binding.

SENATOR IVES: Now for questions from the platform Mr. Paul Hoffman, I think, is first here.

MR. HOFFMAN: I have a question I'd like to address to Mr. Fairless, and I will not ask him if I can get some steel—that might be just a little embarrassing. I would like to ask him if in these meetings he has with Mr. Murray all is sweetness and light? I engage in union negotiations myself.

MR. FAIRLESS: Of course, Mr. Murray and I do not always see eye to eye. I think the record is pretty clear with respect to that. We're both human, however—every one has disagreements—but we will in our opinion have many more disagreements if we do not meet and discuss our problems. Disagreements in many cases can be traced to lack of understanding. If this is true, and I believe it is, then the more we can get the facts out in the open, the better our chances to settle our differences.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you very much, Mr. Fairless. I notice that Mr. Thurman Arnold has a question. Do you want to get up here at the microphone, Mr. Arnold?

MR. ARNOLD: I'll address this to Mr. Gibson. Mr. Gibson, can we have free enterprise without the free movement of both goods and labor between the United States and Europe?

MR. GIBSON: That's a very good question, Mr. Arnold. I personally feel that we can't have a successful free enterprise without an exchange of goods and labor as between the United States and Europe. I think it was one of the basic essentials that our economy was built upon, and I think certainly we have enough natural resources, and we should have enough productive capacity, to make an interchange that would both be helpful to us and to other countries of the world in their process of rehabilitation.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you very much, Mr. Gibson, and I notice that Mr. Vladek has a question. Mr. Vladek, do you want to come up here to the microphone?

MR. VLADEK: I have a question for Mr. Johnston. In light of his question to Mr. Gibson, does he hold to the doctrine that increases in workers' level of income should be measured by productivity, while business levels of profits are to be determined by what the market will bear?

MR. JOHNSTON: I think it's a contributing factor. I think it should be taken into consideration. Certainly I think that in industry workers should be paid according to their productivity. There are other factors to be considered as well, but productivity is one of the important factors that must be taken into consideration.

SENATOR IVES: Do any of our other guest speakers here tonight want to comment on that? All right, I notice Dr. Mark Starr has a question. Do you want to come up here, Dr. Starr?

DR. STARR: I'd like to ask this question of Mr. Johnston. It's just too bad, in this atmosphere of self-congratulation and the

love fest we're having tonight, we are in danger of forgetting some of the grim realities outside. And so I want to ask Mr. Johnston, does he know in this next to perfect system that he's outlined that people are being evicted in Sunnyside tonight, soldiers who fought in the war—because we failed to house them properly? Does he know that in New York a dollar ain't a dollar any more when we go out to buy foodstuffs, and will he moderate, or doesn't he think it wise to moderate, his self-satisfaction in view of our internal and our international problems?

MR. JOHNSTON: I didn't know I had any self-satisfaction, because I certainly do not. I'm simply saying that these are some of the things that we might do. I recognize that housing is one of the great problems in America, and I think there's something that government should and can do about it. I think it's one of the opportunities of government to assist in seeing that people have homes. Government can't make homes, but it can build houses, and we can't have a solid citizenry unless people have homes in which to live, and that's one of the things the government can do. There are many faults in our economy. There are many things that can be done, but if we have the initiative of the individual, working with the tremendous organizing power of the state, then I think that we can overcome many of these problems that face us today and remain strong and remain free.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you very much, Mr. Johnston. Mrs. Sporborg has a question.

MRS. SPORBORG: Senator Ives, I represent the General Federation of Women's Clubs, but I wish to speak as a consumer, and I'd like to ask my question of both Major Berry, representing labor, and Mr. Johnston, representing management. Mr. Johnston was the only one of the speakers who referred to the consumer, and while we realize that labor and management are consumers in this whole problem of arbitration, they're either management or labor, but between them are we, the homemakers of the country, as consumers with 85 per cent of the purchasing power, and I'd like to ask both of these gentlemen why they do not advocate a representative of consumers as well as management and labor.

MAJOR BERRY: Well, of course, the working men and women of America are in that status, overwhelming majority status, to which the lady referred. We are consumers; the largest consuming element in the country, of course, is the men and women of labor. We are therefore consumers, and we join with the lady in saying that we have done and are doing everything that we can, perhaps here and

there slipping a little, but doing everything we can to stabilize the situation in America.

My friend, Assistant Secretary Gibson, pointed out that labor hadn't really kept pace with the increased cost of living. Now the question as to whether we should keep apace or not keep apace depends very largely upon the appetite of the consuming public.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Major Berry. How about you, Mr. Johnston? Do you have anything to say on it?

MR. JOHNSTON: Well, I'm all for the consumer. I recognize that if we don't have consumers, we can't use the products of industry. We must have lower prices constantly, so that more and more people can buy more and more things. That's the American system. That's what I call participating capitalism. That's what differentiates our system from the systems of the rest of the world, and that's the kind of system that I'm for. We can only do that by increased productivity per man-hour, so that we can have more things for more people, and more people can consume more things.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Mr. Johnston, and thank you, Mrs. Sporborg, for your question. I notice that Senator Flanders, my distinguished colleague from Vermont, would like to ask a question here.

SENATOR FLANDERS: I sit right in front of Senator Ives in the Senate and know more about him than most of you do, and most of what I know is good. Now, this is the question on my mind. Senator, Mr. Gibson referred to the advantages of maintenance or increase of purchasing power. He also, as I understood him, referred to the facts that the demand for goods and services is now greater than the supply. If that is the case, how can increase in purchasing power at the present time have any effect in raising the standard of living, which is made up of goods and services and which is already going at high speed?

MR. GIBSON: Well, to the Senator, I must remind him again that in my statement I said that wages hadn't kept pace with price increases. Wages have lagged behind price increases, and it's necessary for workers to have more purchasing power to even purchase the numbers of articles that they may have been accustomed to, or somewhere near that point.

SENATOR FLANDERS: The question I was raising was as to whether you could get any increase in the standard of living without

increase in production as distinguished from increase in purchasing power. The goods at present made are all moving into consumption. They're moving at higher prices than we like, but they're all moving and unless we can produce more goods and services, unless in some way, which it is difficult to see at the present time, increased purchase power results in increased production, I do not see how increased purchasing power can result in an increase in the standard of living.

SENATOR IVES: Mr. Gibson wants to comment on that, but I'll have to go to the next question.

MR. GIBSON: Just a brief comment. I don't think it is going to increase the standard of living at the moment under conditions that we're faced with today.

SENATOR IVES: The chair notices that Mr. Steinkraus, the president of the Bridgeport Brass Company, wants to ask a question. Mr. Steinkraus?

MR. STEINKRAUS: Senator Ives, I've listened to Mr. Gibson's talk about the four "Ps," and I suspected in his conversation when he referred to the O. P. A. that he felt that much of our troubles today are due to the fact that the O. P. A. was eliminated. In order to clarify my thinking on it, I'd like to ask Mr. Gibson whether he proposes the return of the O. P. A. as a move to keep American economy free and strong.

MR. GIBSON: Well, it isn't necessarily a question of free and strong. I said in my statement that the removal of O. P.A. was the thing responsible for the spiraling of prices today, and I still think that was the reason for it. I'm for some measure of restraint that will curb the ever-increasing price situation of today, because I fear for the future of our economy unless something is done to level off the price structure in this country.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Mr. Gibson. I note that Miss Stewart, who is sitting behind us here, has a question. Miss Stewart, will you step to the microphone and tell the audience who you are?

MISS STEWART: I'm a student, and I have a question for Mr. Fairless. Mr. Fairless, you referred to periodic meetings between union and company officials. Have you had any since your last agreement, and if so, what was the purpose behind these meetings?

MR. FAIRLESS: Thank you very much. We had a meeting in July; the second meeting was to have been held this month. It was

postponed because of the C. I. O. convention. It will be held next month. The contract specifies that these meetings shall be held quarterly, dating from last April. The first meeting was a good one—not just backslapping. There was the recognition that we will have to get down to hard facts on some matters. That's as it should be. We're not going into this thing just for fun. The workers and the management know that the world needs steel; if we can keep on making it, that's one sure way to provide it. These meetings will help. You can't get along too well with a fellow if you see him only once a year and then in times of a crisis.

SENATOR IVES: I'm very sorry, but that's all the time we have for the question period, and we thank you very much.

Summaries by the Speakers

SENATOR IVES: Mr. Johnston, may we hear first from you?

MR. JOHNSTON: Fifty years ago it was essential to be strong and healthy for our own good. Now it's essential for us to be strong and healthy for the good of the world as well. It seems to me that all the speakers have brought out tonight that a strong and free America will not only assist us, but that we are essential for the liberty and freedom of peoples everywhere.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Mr. Johnston. Now, Major Berry, will you please step up here?

MAJOR BERRY: War is the most destructive thing, of course, of all things. Strikes and lockouts and the stoppage of business is war. It seems to me that the matter of first importance in America is for the management of industries and representatives of labor to work out a system by which wastefulness shall cease and thus productivity increase in order that we might have a sounder, higher state of economy in the United States.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Major Berry. Now, Mr. Fairless, your summary, if you please.

MR. FAIRLESS: I have said that a sound labor-management relationship is necessary to a free and strong America and that we in the United States feel management and labor are working together to secure and maintain that relationship.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you very much, Mr. Fairless. Now, a final word from you, Mr. Gibson.

MR. GIBSON: There is no period of the past we have ever known to return to. We're not faced with a post-war problem, but with the task of building a new economy for the future. We cannot approach this future with the timidity some leaders have in their veins today. Timidity must be replaced with a bold, daring spirit and leadership to keep this the greatest democracy with the highest standard of living on earth.

SENATOR IVES: Thank you, Mr. Gibson. In so far as your moderator is concerned, he is largely in agreement with much that has been said here on the part of those included in the program. I would observe, however, that in our discussion tonight of a free and strong American economy we have been considering the over-all problem of productivity which is confronting the American people.

We have put a special emphasis on the relationship among labor, management and ownership in dealing with this problem. It seems to me that we have tried to draw a line where government controls cease in the field of labor-management relations. If we are to maintain a free and strong economy, the greatest possible latitude should be given to the exercise of the voluntary processes. It seems to me that the speakers in their opening statements and in their replies to questions have made a distinct contribution toward clearer thinking where these vital matters are concerned. On behalf of the speakers, I thank you all.

Margot Mayo
Director

Harold Aks
Conductor

The Margot Mayo Folk Singers

MR. REID: We are now going to have some singing which is as much a part of the American scene as labor and management themselves—and far more relaxing. For fifteen years Margot Mayo, director of the American Square Dance group, has been collecting from all over the country folk music and dances.

Recently her conviction that singing was basic to the understanding of folk dancing led her to the founding of the group with us tonight, the Margot Mayo Folk Singers. They will sing old American songs—with two on the subject of temperance—in just the way our grandfathers sang them. They will be led by Harold Aks.

. . .

Early American Songs—The Margot Mayo Folk Singers, conducted by Harold Aks, singing at the third session of the Forum.

Let Tyrants Shake Their Iron Rod ..... *Billings*
Time What an Empty Vapour 'Tis ..... *Billings*
Now Shall My Head Be Lifted High ..... *Billings*
False Are the Men of High Degree ..... *D. Reed*
When Shall Thy Lovely Face Be Seen ..... *Shumway*
I Am a Great Complainer ..... *Wm. Walker*
To Drum Beat and Heart Beat ..... *19th Century*
Sparkling Water ..... *19th Century*
Sign Tonight..... *W. F. Sherwin*

Ralph E. Flanders

Senator from Vermont

A Step Forward in Government Responsibility

MR. REID: From the two partners in the job of production, those of management and labor, we now move to consideration of a third element in the country's economic picture—that of government. We are pleased that its contribution can be told by a person who in the past has been identified with both of the other two. On graduation from high school his first four years were spent as a machinist-apprentice and draftsman. Since then he has been drafted for one job after another. As manager of the Jones & Lamson Machinery Company and later its president he learned the ins and outs of factory work. Today he is credited by Donald David, Dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Business, with the country's most profound understanding of United States business. He has held advisory posts in Washington with the NRA, OPA, WPA and since 1944 has found time to serve as President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. His thirst for facts and record of getting things done have recently led to his heading committees to investigate the high cost of food and housing. We are happy that the Senator from Vermont,

Ralph Edward Flanders, is with us tonight to tell about our government's new tool, the President's Economic Commission.

SENATOR FLANDERS: For the first time in its history this nation is preparing for an all-out attack on the problem of maintaining a high rate of employment and production. For the first time, also, we have two new special tools for the task. These tools were forged by The Employment Act of 1946. One is the President's three-man Economic Council; the other is the joint committee of the House and Senate whose job is to keep abreast of the economic state of the Union and make reports to Congress supplementing those made to the President by his Economic Council. Since under the American system of constitutional government the President cannot act effectively without the support of Congress, it is vital that there be agreement between the executive and the legislature on measures needed to promote the economic health of the nation. The Economic Council and the Congressional committee have been given the job of providing the facts on which such agreement can be based.

I want to tell you something about this committee and the council tonight, about what they are doing and about their own conception of their mission not only because I had a chance to help bring them into existence but because they are tackling the most important problem the government has to solve today. It is so important a responsibility that it can only be put into proper perspective against the background of the life and death of our civilization.

What we are talking about is an over-all government approach to the problem of prosperity. For the first time we have agreed to bend all our energies to maintaining the economic health of the nation. Hitherto we have been intently concerned with these matters only when employment and production have been at low levels. We have sought for remedies to cure a sickness rather than for the hygiene which will keep us in health. We now embark on a giant experiment in preventive medicine for the economic organism. We are determined to improve and maintain a high level of employment and production, to prevent a recurrence of unemployment of men and machines and the worry and suffering they entail.

We are recognizing that a part of the responsibility for the national health lies with the government. Until this time we have looked at government responsibility as a matter of incidental importance in connection with whatever legislation might be before us. In general, the pressure for legislation has been buttressed with arguments that it would have a favorable effect on the economy as a whole. Too seldom have the policies advanced been approached initially from the direction of the general welfare. Too often the theory has been that the sum total of advantages to the special

interests would represent a total advantage to the nation as a whole. Such has not always been the case. The special interests served too frequently have found themselves in conflict with each other to such an extent that the general welfare has been lost from sight and has suffered.

The Employment Act of 1946, which embodies the over-all approach to prosperity, provides that the Economic Council make an annual report to the President on which he may base an economic message to the newly convened Congress. It provides for such interim reports as the council may feel necessary. These have been found of increasing value not only by the President himself but by legislators, business men, newspaper editors and indeed all those who need a clear picture of economic conditions and prospects. The council also holds frequent conferences with the President and his Cabinet, known as "economic seminars."

The joint committee of the House and Senate, also provided for in the employment act, has an economic staff to receive and consider the President's message and report its recommendations back to the Congress. The law does not prescribe any particular remedy nor demand any specific gift of prophecy. Rather, it requires, in effect, that the Economic Council shall keep the President currently informed of changing conditions which might require changes in legislative enactments or administrative action. It likewise permits the joint committee to continue studies and investigations of the same sort, so that the council's reports and the President's messages will reach a legislative committee already at work considering the same subjects. Finally, it helps concentrate the whole range of government activities on the central purpose of maintaining the material well-being of our people.

While the mechanism provided and the method of operation prescribed seem well adapted to supporting this central purpose, there are nevertheless a number of unsolved problems which will have to be worked out as we gain experience. One of these is the problem faced by the President's Economic Council. What are its relations with the President and the Administration to be? Should it be a super-body prescribing policy for the Cabinet or, at the other extreme, merely one of many groups reporting to the President? The one extreme is impracticable; the other would be deplorable. In general, the position of the council in the Administration will be determined by the ability and character of its members. Its present make-up is such as to insure an effective relationship. Dr. Edwin Nourse, Mr. Leon Keyserling and Mr. John Clark, the three members of the council, are thoughtful men with an unusual degree of practical experience combined with their theoretical grasp of economics.

There is another problem which the council faces which is of great importance. Shall it write its reports to or for the President? Shall it study the problems with pure objectivity and leave it up to the Chief Executive to decide how much he will be influenced thereby or even whether or not the report shall be published? Or, on the other hand, shall they in a measure be amenable to the point of view of the Administration and therefore prepare a document which the President will gladly publish and support?

It is perhaps improper to raise this question at all, for there can be but one answer as to which of these procedures is in the public interest. Capable, experienced and devoted men reporting and recommending objectively can in the long run be of the greatest service to the President and to the country. The wise Chief Executive will prefer this course on the part of his council, and we have no reason to believe that our President is not wise in this respect.

There are also questions unresolved in the legislation which concern the second tool for maintaining employment—the joint committee of the House and Senate. The most serious questions to be answered are: How can the influence of this Congressional committee be increased, and through what channels shall it act?

As to the first question, it is a matter of course that the committee is made up of members of the two parties, and it is by legislation a joint committee of the House and Senate. Its bi-partisanship and the fundamental nature of its duties should lead toward rather than away from non-partisanship in its deliberations. This should make it easier to gain influence on both sides of both houses of the Congress.

It must be said, however, that the committee's influence is not as yet strongly felt in the legislative body. It has come in as a new and additional assignment undertaken by members whose time already is fully occupied by earlier important committee assignments. It includes chairmen and leading members of other committees. The pressure of work of these other assignments has been such that many of the more able members of the joint committee have found it difficult to attend the few meetings already held. These are some of the reasons why the influence of the committee is as yet far from measuring up to its responsibilities or opportunities.

In the last few weeks subcommittees of this joint committee have been holding hearings on prices throughout the United States pursuant to a resolution introduced by Senator Baldwin, of Connecticut. In the holding of these hearings, and in the subsequent analysis and report of the information gained from them, the committee is having and will have its first opportunity of doing serious work and presenting constructive suggestions to the Congress. In the hearings at which your speaker has been present, the attitude of the members has been highly objective. Partisanship has been at a mini-

mum. This is a good augury for the development of the work of the joint committee for the future.

I have been talking of the vital need for securing high employment and production. It is equally essential that the goods and services resulting from this high employment and production shall be distributed justly. Indeed, it is unlikely that employment and production can be maintained at high levels without such a distribution. Thus the two are really different facets of the same problems.

A just distribution is one based on the value of services rendered. It must take into account managerial abilities, the reward of special skills and experience, long training periods, continuity in attention to work, severe physical conditions under which work is done and degrees of responsibility attached to the performance of the duties involved. A just distribution would recognize the productive value of savings, applied to development and installation of more efficient equipment. It would also provide for the basic needs of those unable to work owing to age, physical condition or other inherent handicaps. It would not, however, be tender toward those able but unwilling to work.

One cannot attend hearings such as those we have been holding without being profoundly disturbed about this very problem of just distribution. It is becoming clear that in our larger cities there are important groups that are being left behind by inflation. There is the great class of white-collar workers, the aged or incapacitated dependent on pensions, the colored population and other large groups who have lagged behind in the progressive increase in wages and prices. One cannot escape the conclusion that every price rise for the sake of increasing profits already normal, and in some cases abnormally high, every wage rise demanded and received by those already receiving high wages and resulting in further price increases, are gained at the expense of this group of citizens that is being left behind.

Under present circumstances, the profit determinations and the wage negotiations of our major industries and union organizations cease to be private matters. They are public matters, and must be determined with the public interest in mind, if business and labor are to retain their present degree of freedom from government control.

The sore spot of inflation is the price of food. In the low-income groups it takes up a larger and larger share of the meager family income. This proportion, traditionally about 40 per cent, rises to 50 per cent, to 60 per cent and even higher. Money needed for clothing, for education and recreation must be spent for food, and still the nutrition of the family is insufficient and the health of the new generation is undermined. And apart from the social evils of

this situation, there is the threat that inability to buy the less essential consumer goods will bring on a recession in important manufacturing industries and a consequent imbalance in the whole economy.

In general, we have not found that it is profiteering in food processing or distribution which takes heavy toll of the consumer dollar. It is in the primary markets and exchanges and in the production of food and feed grains and livestock on the farm where we find the great increases. In my opinion, we will have to review our whole price program. The government guaranties support prices to bring forth the maximum production from our agriculture. Why should market prices be allowed to rise far above these support prices, bringing distress to low-income families and making our relief for foreign peoples an intolerable financial burden to them and to us? What simple means, not so complicated and extensive as those of war time, can be devised to bring these primary foods within the reach of needy Americans and starving Europeans?

It is questions like these that the President's council and the joint committee of Congress are facing. Unless we find the answers, and the needed steps are taken, our inflation will explode in unemployment. Our free political and social institutions will probably disappear if this happens, and they will certainly not survive if it should happen twice.

Sumner Schlichter said some months ago that the two great problems now facing us are how to get along with Russia and how to have full employment without inflation. We cannot solve the first unless we solve the second.

Thurman Arnold

Former Assistant United States Attorney General

The New American Imperialism

MR. REID: Our next speaker comes originally from Laramie, Wyoming. Like the winds which sweep East from this country, his life work has served to blast cobwebs that clutter traditional thought. Perhaps it is because he himself has jumped successively from law to government to teaching that his perspective has remained steady and the winds of a fair and challenging mind have continued to blow. While lecturing at Yale Law School, his forthrightness rewarded him with the title "Public Iconoclast Number 1"; and in his work of enforcing anti-trust laws—as assistant acting attorney general—he has become known for the breaking of more than idols. Recently retired from the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, to which he was appointed in 1943, he is now practicing law in Washington. Tonight he will bring us a broadened concept of our economic operation, building on fundamentals of old but giving them a wider horizon. I am delighted to present Mr. Thurman Arnold.

MR. ARNOLD: Never before in our history have we faced a future which seemed so uncertain and so full of hazard. At home, in

spite of full employment and the greatest production in our history, we are haunted with the specter of a depression. Abroad, we have gained neither peace nor recovery.

The war ended in an atmosphere of extravagant hope. We had just begun to realize the tremendous potential production of the twentieth-century industrial revolution. We believed in a new industrial era, in which private enterprise would expand as it did in the nineteenth century, only faster. Then private business moved freely over national boundaries, protected, but not interfered with by independent states. We felt that the way to re-establish an expanding economy was to restore the nineteenth century. And so we set up the United Nations as the machinery of peace; the Nuernberg trials as the judicial sanction which made war a crime, and an international bank, based on nineteenth-century monetary principles, to provide a stable currency for world trade. The picture of a civilized and self-disciplined union of independent nations, refraining from aggressive action under the great Nuernberg principle, and with a bank back of them if they got hard up—this was our entire foreign policy. Here were all the virtues of nineteenth-century international organization without its defects.

At home the problem seemed equally simple. Balance the budget, throw off the government controls that were stifling private initiative and then sit back and wait for normalcy to return.

Such a retreat into the past was perhaps an inevitable consequence of the revolutionary times in which we lived. Statesmen sitting at Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic wars attempted with equal hope to restore the eighteenth century. Following the same pattern, our statesmen of today tried to restore the independent nations of the nineteenth century. The ink on that project was hardly dry before we discovered that the tremendous force of the twentieth-century industrial revolution had taken from national boundaries their economic significance, and from independent nations the reality of independence.

Our dream of restoring the nineteenth century has ended in a cold war with Russia. Faith in the United Nations wavers. We are on a quasi-war footing, planning to ship vast quantities of goods and materials abroad, not as a matter of normal trade, but in self-defense against something we call Communism. And this in turn has upset all our plans at home to return to normalcy. Indeed, because we removed price controls without dreaming of these new semi-war demands on our economy, we face inflation. And the most cherished hope of all, balancing the budget and cutting taxes, is at complete loggerheads with our campaign to rehabilitate Europe as a bulwark against Communism. One or the other must be abandoned. We still insist on keeping both.

Thus America is forced into a role that is alien to every tradition. If it were a shooting war we would agree to ration ourselves to help allies. But the idea of struggling to gain ascendancy by building industry instead of destroying it is new and therefore alarming. Nineteenth-century imperialism built industries in foreign countries spurred on by the hope of profitable exploitation and immediate return. Our new imperialism is the reverse of exploitation. It promises no immediate return. Anti-imperialists fear it because they fear any form of national expansion. Imperialists fear it because of the nineteenth-century belief that imperialism without exploitation is bankruptcy. It alarms men like Henry Wallace because the mainspring of the policy is hostility to Russia and hard words may lead to war.

And yet gradually and in spite of all the traditions which it violates and the fears it creates the Marshall plan is gaining the support of the nation. We are proceeding fearfully, hesitantly, ineffectively. We are trying to go forward and back at the same time. But even so, we realize that the boundaries of the United States are in Europe, and that as the economic leader of a metropolitan world we cannot afford to maintain international slums as breeders of disorder. This is the most significant revolution in American thought and attitude of our times. We have at last identified the prosperity of Western Europe with our own safety and security. It is an imperialism for rehabilitation, not for exploitation. It is called a cold war. But it is a war to get ahead of our enemies not in destroying production but in reviving it.

On New Year's Day before the great depression—which turned out to be not just another depression but a wasting disease from which we never recovered until we got the terrible stimulus of war—we faced the future with carefree optimism. We did not realize that the world had fallen apart into separate segments divided by barriers over which neither people nor goods could move. When goods and people cannot move as individuals, they begin to move as armies, and that is what finally happened. We were secure in 1928 because we were ignorant of the world we lived in. We are insecure today because we at last have begun to face the facts. Throughout history it is out of insecurity that progress and new wealth are born. We are not thinking this thing through, we are muddling it through, but at last we are facing reality and a new century is being born.

Revolutions are not born out of scarcity of property or even human injustice and slavery. They arise out of the pressure of sudden unexpected wealth, vast potential markets, tremendously expanding productive capacity which sweeps aside the barriers of old institutions that stopped the free movement of goods and people. The great discoveries preceded the Reformation; the scientific ad-

vance of the eighteenth century with its tremendous industrial possibilities preceded the French Revolution. Today the root of our insecurity is in the incredible new sources of wealth of the twentieth-century industrial revolution. But that same revolution is also the basis for hope of a new era that will raise the standard of living of the world to a level it has never seen before provided that both goods and people can again move freely and not organized as armies. It is an economic axiom that increased productive capacity leads only to want in the midst of plenty, unless there is a stimulus to use that capacity. We saw that during the long years of our depression which was never really broken except under the stimulus to produce provided by war.

But suppose we accept this new imperialism implicit in the Marshall plan and enter the race to put Europe back on its feet. The demands of that effort will be a greater stimulus toward expanding production than we have ever known before except in war. If this happens American industry will hum like a top for the next half century. Free enterprise will be safe because it is always safe in an expanding economy. It is never safe in a static economy. The industrial revolution of the twentieth century has given us new frontiers wider than the old frontier that is gone.

For example, agricultural experts say that modern power, machinery and transportation can raise the world to an American diet by the year 2000. Assume this is only 20 per cent true, it is a frontier whose possibilities cannot be exhausted in our time. And it is an American frontier in the sense that we are now the only people that can develop it.

Can we afford to pour goods into Europe and take nothing in return? The answer is no. Already that effort is threatening inflation. Already price controls and rationing seem imminent. But Europe has one thing to give us, and that is labor—labor that is pushing with explosive force against the barriers which prevent it from moving where it is most needed. Labor is wealth, and no country needs it so much as America to expand the frontiers of the atomic age.

On the Statue of Liberty facing toward Europe we find this verse:

> "Give me your tired, your poor
> Your huddled masses yearning to be free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

That was our economic policy for eighty years. Under it we developed our frontiers and grew to greatness.

Perhaps we can understand the problem better if we move it to another setting. Suppose the war had reduced the industrial East of America to the present condition of Europe. Neither principle nor fear would stand in the way of the West and South pouring goods and materials into the East. The West and South would not think of impoverishing the nation; they would realize they were building the nation's wealth. And under this stimulus to produce the West and South we lose their present status of industrial colonies and set their own economies on the road to permanent wealth and independence.

But suppose the West and South insisted that no people could move out of the industrial East to aid them in their task. Suppose they would attempt to freeze the population of great stricken cities without present hope or opportunity except for a dole. The whole enterprise would fail. It would create pressure in the East that would sooner or later explode in war.

The economic force of the twentieth-century revolution will either break down the barriers to the movement of peoples or will end in another war. We are far from accepting this truth today. Perhaps as far as we were from accepting the Marshall doctrine two years ago. But it is an inevitable corollary of the Marshall doctrine. Without it the Marshall doctrine will be a burden we cannot sustain.

The cold war into which we have been plunged is not a comfortable thing. But it is going to make us prove that a system of free enterprise and free markets can restore the world, or abandon our leadership.

I have no hope we can escape cyclical depressions. The twentieth century may well have its ups and downs. But if the necessities of the Marshall plan compel, as I think they will, free movement of people and goods, then this new American imperialism—for rehabilitation rather than exploitation—will offer new horizons to free enterprise in an expanding world.

David E. Lilienthal

Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission

The Strength of America

MR. REID: Two weeks ago our final speaker for the evening told how the Atomic Energy Commission was in the midst of a large-scale program to improve and expand its facilities at Hanford, Washington. He said that it was "a major effort even for this country." Added to previous announcements about work at Los Alamos, New Mexico, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, it revealed an undertaking of gigantic proportions. The Commission was shown to be not only a builder of atomic plants but of whole cities—with schools, churches, newspapers, radio stations and other community facilities. The direction of such an operation is as complex as the responsibility for atomic development must be terrifying.

I think we can be thankful that the man who heads this new force in the world is one who a short while ago had this to say: ". . . I believe—and I so conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest upon—as does religion—the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; . . . Any form of government, and any other institutions which make men means rather than ends, which

exalt the state, or any other institutions, above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of government, or any other institutions, are contrary to that conception, and therefore I am deeply opposed to them."

We are proud that this man, so skillful in expressing the essence of democracy, is going to give the definition of America's basic strength. David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Lilienthal.

MR. LILIENTHAL: Generally speaking, it's not a good idea for an individual to think too much about himself. He can become so occupied with how his digestion is getting along that just fussing about it will get it out of fix. Perfectly healthy people can give themselves the jitters by paying too much attention to their nerves and their mental processes. The advice "Let your mind alone" has a lot to be said for it.

I have a feeling that much the same thing applies to nations, and particularly to a nation as healthy and high-spirited as the United States of America. But a certain amount of national self-examination is inescapable, and indeed, at this juncture in world events it is not only inevitable but wholesome. The eyes of the world's people are upon us these days. Everything we do (and a good many things we don't do) and much of what we say, in this wonderfully talkative and uninhibited land of ours, occupy the attention of hundreds of millions of people in England, in France and the Lowlands, in Italy and the Balkans, in Latin America, in the vast reaches of Soviet Russia. So that even though we might prefer not to talk about our own health, about what it is that makes us so fit, or about that occasional headache, the times just won't permit.

Each day all over the world, we, the people of the United States, are given a physical and mental appraisal by the people of other lands. Some of this "going over" is so palpably false, so coarse and downright mean that it shocks most of us; for very few of us are given to such extremely bad manners when we talk about other peoples.

But whether the looking over we are getting around the world is sincere and temperate—as it often is—or deliberately false, and incredibly mean—as much of it is—the justification for this constant appraisal of America is clear enough. For we no longer say, "Our way is good enough for us; please go away and don't bother us with your problems." Upon a world-wide stage we stand today as the exemplars and the active protagonists of certain heroic principles of human life, about which we feel so deeply that we are prepared to stake everything upon keeping them alive and flourishing. We assert that the principles by which we live are basically opposed to and

demonstrably superior to those modern versions of tyranny over men that first enslaved and then destroyed the German and the Japanese people and that now threaten the peoples of all Europe and of Asia.

If I understood the essence of our evolving foreign policy, it is based largely upon what we believe to be the peculiar merits and the superior qualities of our domestic policy, that is, our way of living together here at home. The anxious peoples of the world are bedeviled and often confused by many voices in their own lands, telling them just what America is like, what our motives are. The confusion abroad is natural enough. But we should take care that we ourselves do not get confused about the sources of our strength, about what it is that makes America strong and that will keep her strong.

What is this source and this foundation of our American strength? The answer most commonly heard is: Our economic system. This "system" is variously referred to as the capitalist system, or democratic capitalism, or the system of free enterprise, or some similar expression.

The central role of free, competitive, private enterprise in the life of America can hardly be exaggerated. But neither this nor any other answer in economic terms can explain our basic vitality.

The basic source of the strength of American civilization does not lie in an "economic system." The well-springs of our vitality are not economic. They go deeper still; they are ethical and spiritual. Our society in America is founded not upon the cold and bloodless "economic man" of the Marxist, but upon a faith in man as an end in himself. We believe in man. We believe in men not merely as production units, but as the children of God. We believe that the purpose of our society is not primarily to assure the "safety of the state," but to safeguard human dignity and the freedom of the individual. We are a people who have built upon a faith in the spirit of man, who conceive that the development and happiness of the individual is the purpose and goal of American life. I judge that we are not ready to "trade in" this luminous concept of a people's purpose for the notion that the America of the Bill of Rights, of Walt Whitman and Justice Holmes and Abraham Lincoln, is simply a highly productive economic system.

What we have, actually is not a system at all, but almost its opposite, that is, a society of the greatest imaginable diversity, and flexibility, taking things as they come, deciding how to handle situations by the facts of each situation itself—"doing what comes naturally." The only way in which it can be said to be a "system" is to say our "system" is to have no system.

What I have said may start an argument, but it will not be merely an argument over the meaning of words. I speak of the substance of

things. I am asserting that the vitality of our distinctive institutions of production and distribution of goods ultimately depends not upon rigid and fixed economic principles but upon ethical and moral assumptions and purposes; that our unparalleled productivity and standard of living are not the consequence of an economic system, but rather the other way around; that our economic success and our flourishing economic institutions are the consequence of our ethical and moral standards and precepts, of our democratic faith in man.

We have ethical guide lines in this country. We have developed rather highly a sense of what is right and what is wrong, of what is fair and decent, and what is just crude use of arbitrary power. A cynical labor leader or business giant, a cynical politician or public official—those who conceive of American society as nothing more than a jungle in which the most ruthless prevails—we may not catch onto such men right away. We can be fooled for a time by a mask of pretense. Sometimes we are slow to repudiate cynical disregard of our democratic faith—but that faith is always there, the foundation of our buying and selling, our hiring and firing, our political and financial institutions. No factory can be operated, not a carload of wheat sold, not a labor dispute negotiated, not an election held, that these ethical, legally unenforceable precepts are not part of the transaction.

I do not see how our kind of society could flourish in any other way. A highly interdependent country, one capable of producing more than $150,000,000,000 worth of goods a year, is too complex for rigid planning and the enforcement of detailed plans by law. We must function in a loose, informal way under sanctions that are largely ethical and moral, based upon commonly accepted standards of fair play and respect for human integrity. This is the way we do function, by and large, and this is why we flourish.

Some would have us believe that because we excel in making millions of the same kind of useful gadgets that therefore we are free men. No, that has the cart before the horse. It is because freedom for men is a primary ethical concern of ours that we do so well in making gadgets and raising food and doing successfully many other things—among them the winning of wars.

Diversity and flexibility, rather than a stereotyped hard-and-fast system, is an essential part of such a noble concept of society as is ours. We get our economic services in the way that at the time seems to work best, that will in a particular situation best advance our underlying purposes. We do not start with all the answers, the economic or political answers. We make the answers up as we go along. Thus American industry is owned and operated, by and large, by competitive private enterprise; yet a year ago the Senate of the United States voted unanimously to establish public ownership and management in one of our largest industries and make it a govern-

ment monopoly—I refer, of course, to the atomic-materials industry. That appeared to be the thing to do at the time, for reasons related to the facts of atomic energy, not for ideological reasons taken out of some book of economic dogma.

The most rock-ribbed Mid-Western town I know has for many years owned and operated its own electric power and light plant. Is this, then, a "Socialist" town? Hardly! Its water service has been privately owned for the same period. There is a privately owned university, a public junior college. No one considers that these things are inconsistent; and, of course, they are not, except to the dogmatist who thinks we have a fixed "system." In the same town there is a farmers' feed co-operative that is not quite private or quite public, operating side by side with a big privately owned feed company. There are private banks, there are non-profit insurance companies, there are state-owned liquor stores. We would never consider adopting government ownership or control of newspapers partly because of their educational character; but our school system, the cornerstone of American education, is almost entirely publicly owned and managed. This is all part of the familiar picture of American diversity, of American flexibility.

The fact is that we have hardly an ounce of economic dogmatism in us. This characteristic diversity of ours, this capacity to adapt ourselves to any need stands us—and the world—in good stead tonight. For in western Europe there are many different kinds of economic undertakings and methods of controls; and, as befits world leaders, we are peculiarly equipped by reason of our own economic versatility to deal effectively with each of these, without sacrifice of our own unifying sense of purpose and direction.

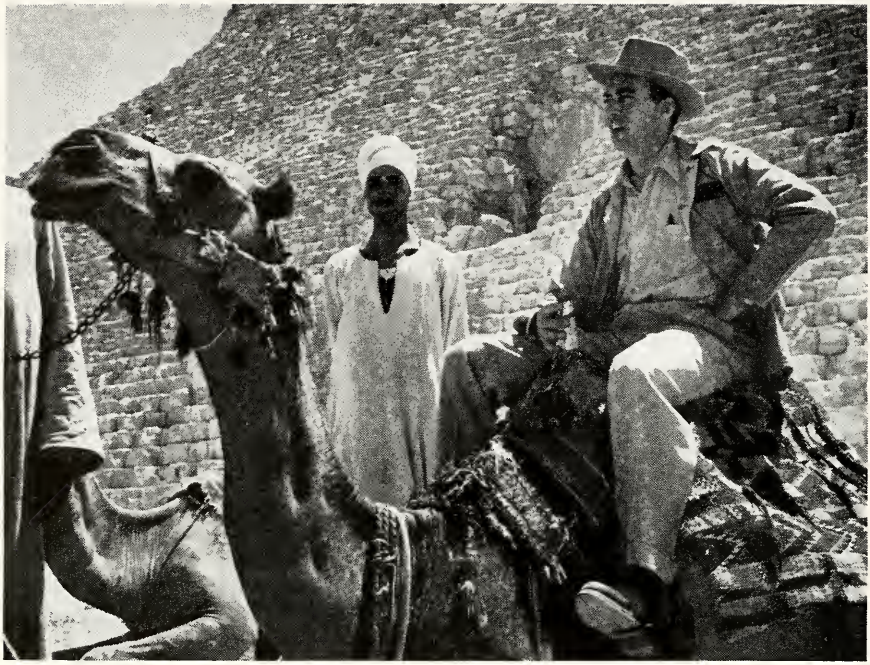
We ourselves should be very clear about American fundamentals as we move into the most fateful role we have ever played in world affairs. For our leadership in large part depends upon our continued capacity to demonstrate how superior, in human terms, is our way of living. If I am right in what I have been saying, then it is important—desperately important—that we be clear in our own minds about the true sources of our strength; that we nourish and safeguard the ethical principles that make us strong.

Now no candid person—no honest person—would deny that there are today some disturbing tendencies in our country away from this concern for the individual, away from our standards of fairness between men. We are witnessing in some quarters as ugly a scene of hoggishness and money mania as we have seen since the days of the '20s. Many of those who spent the years of their youth fighting for this country returned to find themselves the victims of legal crookedness and outrageous speculation. These and other evidences of disregard for our ethical precepts do exist in some quarters; and to the

extent that they exist they poison the wells of our material as well as our spiritual strength.

These are days when we should recall the stirring words of old Walt Whitman:

"It is not the earth, it is not America who is so great,
It is I who am great or to be great, it is You up there, or any one,
It is to walk rapidly through civilizations, governments, theories
Through poems, pageants, shows, to form individuals.
Underneath all, individuals, I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores individuals."



Robert Yarnall Richie, who produced the film "Desert Venture," astride a camel beside one of the pyramids of Egypt.

"Desert Venture"

MRS. REID: The program this evening has touched on some of the problems of economy inside America. The final presentation will be a film that tells eloquently a story of how American enterprise—brains as well as capital—can be exported to another country and made to produce benefits for our nation as well as the one abroad.

If you will forgive a personal word I want to tell you of my own reactions on seeing the place described in the film. Early one morning last June a Pan American plane landed at Dhahran and was welcomed by a group of young Americans in immaculate white linen. They drove us across the desert on a perfect road. As far as the eye could see there were miles of stark gray sand with an occasional shepherd following a few sheep or goats. The temperature was 120.

Suddenly we reached an oasis—a veritable Garden of Eden. There were attractive houses, public buildings and as beautiful planting as one could find in Florida or California—oleanders, hibiscus and Australian pine. The contrast was breath-taking. Inside an air-con-

ditioned guest house we were given a delicious American breakfast and a chance to learn about the vision, courage and hard work that had produced a modern miracle.

Two hundred and fifty thousand barrels of oil a day were being drawn from beneath the desert.

Thirty-four million dollars had been paid to the Saudi Arabian government.

Two thousand acres of sand had been converted to agriculture through irrigation.

There were schools for both Arab and American children. The Arab standard of living had changed and young Americans were working with a spirit that seemed inspired. They were also leading happy lives in their air-conditioned buildings. Altogether it was one of the most moving experiences I have ever had and I want to pay my small tribute to the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company who gave birth to a great international project. More recently they have been joined by the Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony Vacuum Oil Company.

Geologists have stated that Saudi Arabia has estimated oil reserve of three billion barrels—some say twenty. No dividends have yet been paid on the enormous investments but they are certainly well deserved. My final wish is that every one of you may some day be able to visit Saudi Arabia and see for yourselves what Americans can achieve in co-operation with men of another land.

Our warm thanks go to the company that made the film possible and particularly to the photographer, Mr. Richie, who worked in sand-filled air that tried to penetrate every crevice of his cameras. He invented protective equipment as he went along and got the shots in lightning time so as to have the picture here tonight. The difficulties were incredible. All of this is only another proof of why the Arabian American Oil Company has achieved so much in the desert.

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"Desert Venture," a technicolor film produced especially for the Forum by the Arabian American Oil Company concluded the third session.

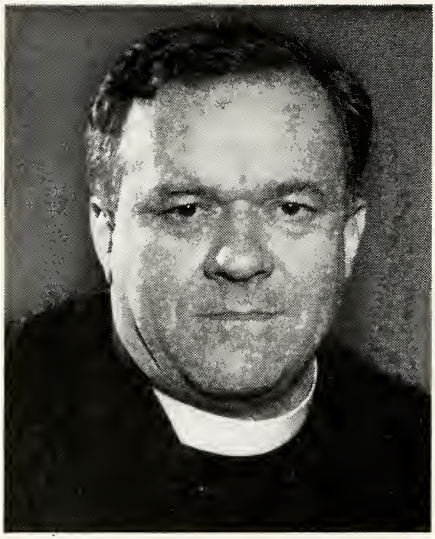
FOURTH SESSION

Wednesday, October 22, 1947, 7:45 P.M.

The Reconstruction of Europe

"Your own safety is at stake when your neighbor's house is in flames."

HORACE, 65 B.C.



Abbé Maillet

Director, The Little Singers of Paris

MRS. REID: The session this evening is dedicated to reconstruction in Europe and ways by which the countries abroad, with the help of the United States, can bring this about. Recently some remarkable ambassadors arrived from France—a group of young singers whose ages range from eleven to fifteen. The tenors and basses among them are from graduate members of the boy group.

Their conductor and the man who has put music into their souls as well as their voices, is L'Abbé Maillet. He founded the choir twenty years ago. Recently they gave a concert in Carnegie Hall. Tonight they have come from a tour of Canada to sing at the Forum. They will open our program with what may well be considered a prayer for the world. Later in the evening they will sing more popular music in their worldly clothes. From their changed appearance you will be much better able to realize that they are normal, natural boys.

I hope you will notice the quality of their articulation when they sing English words. Because of our characteristically American accent in talking French, we can admire their special skill with our language.

Following their New York concert, Virgil Thomson said, "The children are as gracefully unpretentious as their singing is beautiful. It is an experience unforgettable." You will notice that each boy has a cross of wood on his robe.

Songs from France—The Little Singers of Paris, directed by Abbé Maillet, at the final session of the Forum.

I am delighted to present to you Les Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois.

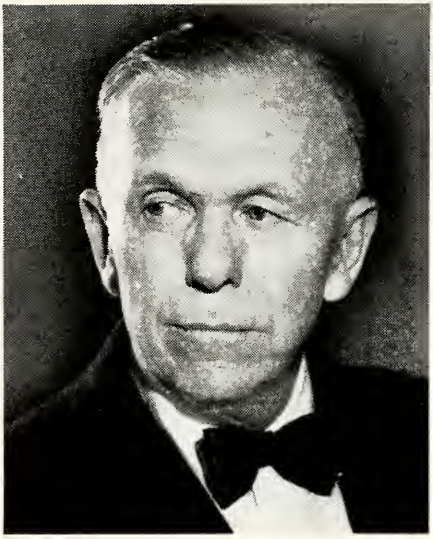
. . .

RELIGIOUS SONGS

Ave Maria ..... *Jean Mouton*
Tenebrae factae sunt ..... *Francis Poulenc*
Il est né le Divin Enfant ..... *Old French Christmas Carol*
Harmonized by Noyon

FOLK SONGS AND NATIONAL ANTHEMS

Il était un Petit Navire ..... *Harmonized by Perissas*
Le Petit Quinquin ..... *Harmonized by Delsinne*
My Bonnie is Over the Ocean ..... *A. Kennet*
The Star Spangled Banner ..... *Francis Scott Key*
La Marseillaise ..... *C. J. Rouget de Lisle*



George C. Marshall

Secretary of State

The Reconstruction of Europe

MRS. REID: This country generally did not realize the great step forward of General Marshall's speech at Harvard University on June 5th. Both England and France were faster in reaction and the true significance of his words lit a heartwarming fire throughout Europe. They were a torch that brought light to people's eyes, a new hope to their souls.

In retrospect we now know that it was probably the most important public document since the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine more than a century ago.

The man who will open this final session has already done more to unify the people in their understanding of other people's problems than anyone else possibly could. In his selfless leadership he transcends party lines. He is apart from politics. He belongs to the nation.

I have the honor of presenting to you our beloved Secretary of State, George C. Marshall.

MR. MARSHALL: The discussion this evening is directed to the problem of the reconstruction of Europe. For many months both the

government and the people of the United States have been considering the growing dangers of the economic situation in Europe and our relation to the problem. That Europe's need of assistance is real and urgent I believe is no longer a matter of argument. And it is likewise evident that the United States of America in the present state of the world represents the primary source from which this need can be met.

I have endeavored on a number of occasions to make clear why in the view of this government it is in the basic interest of the United States to do what it can within reason to meet these needs. I am sure that you all understand the vital importance to us of the preservation of European civilization.

We cannot stand indifferent to the fate of the nations who are having great difficulty in recovering from the consequences of the war and are looking to us for assistance. These are people who hold the same views of international conduct as we do. If we are to be successful in our quest for peace in a decent world, we will be constantly in need of their strong co-operation.

"When I made a public statement at Harvard on June 5 last," to quote from a more recent statement of mine, "it was plainly evident that a situation had developed where we must immediately choose between two lines of action—either to concern ourselves solely with our own internal affairs despite our heavy commitments in Germany, Austria and Italy, while Europe suffered a complete political and economic demoralization; or we must take action to assist Europe in avoiding a disastrous disintegration with tragic consequences for the world. Therefore, the suggestion was made that the European countries, under the pressure of the dilemma which faced them, should join together in working out a mutual basis of co-operation for their own rehabilitation and should determine, on a businesslike basis, the degree and character of the outside assistance they calculated would be urgently needed over and above what was humanly possible for them to accomplish for themselves."

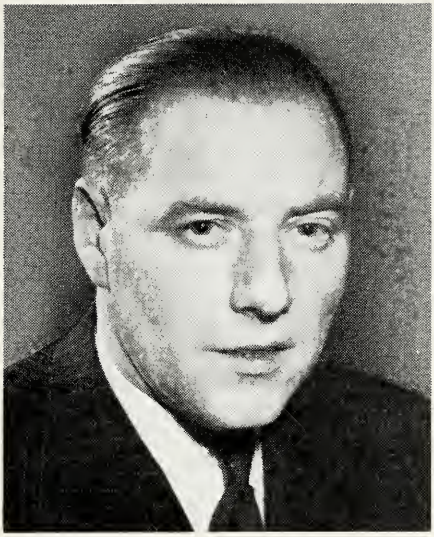
Our government has realized from the first the magnitude of this problem and the numerous pitfalls that lie in the way of its solution. Despite the urgency of the situation, sufficient time had to be allowed for the collection of all pertinent facts and opinions and a thorough study of all the elements, both foreign and domestic, which enter into the problem. We have the preliminary report of the sixteen nations who met in Paris this summer. We are beginning to receive reports from the various governmental groups who have been examining into our own resources and their relationship to possible demands of the European situation. Commissions of Congress who have traveled extensively throughout Europe are returning to this country, and the results of their investigations are becoming available.

I think it is important that you should understand something of the procedure which is now being followed by your government in arriving at a conclusion and preparing a program for presentation to the committees of Congress and later to the Congress itself. At the present time, in fact every day of the week, including Saturdays and Sundays, a large portion of the personnel of the State Department and representative groups of other interested departments and agencies, such as the Treasury Department, the Departments of Commerce and Interior, the Departments of Agriculture and Labor, for example, are engaged in daily sessions working together on data which I have described to determine exactly what should be the program of this government.

I do not believe any project of our government has ever received more careful study and preparation than has this problem of the reconstruction of Europe. And I am certain that no governmental effort has ever enjoyed such complete co-operation on the part of all the agencies concerned. When it is completed it will truly be a program of the United States government and not of any one department or agency. Your contribution should be of great value in bringing the people, the public opinion of the country, to the support of this great effort.

There has been constant reference to a Marshall plan. The reference to me personally was unfortunate, but the reference to a plan was definitely misleading. There was no plan. There was a suggestion. Now we are in the process of drafting a plan as a proposal to the Congress of the United States. That is the situation at the moment.

The period of study and preparation is thus drawing to a close. The time of action is at hand.



Hector McNeil

British Minister of State

Britain's Role

MRS. REID: The Forum is fortunate in having as spokesman for the United Kingdom on the program the British Minister of State now at the United Nations. The British Empire is also blessed in the fact that this Scotsman went into politics instead of becoming a shipwright like his father and grandfather before him. Because one of his hands was not strong enough for ship-building, the father decided regretfully that his son would have to depend on his head for a living.

It was a history-making decision. The story goes that when, at the age of ten, the boy won an argument with his teacher, she said despairingly, "You ought to be in the House of Commons."

Twenty years later, after a short but successful detour in journalism, the young debater was making his first speech in Parliament. Within a few more years he had become the youngest Privy Councillor of the United Kingdom and second in command at the British Foreign Office. More than any other minister in the present government he has had to answer, extempore, adjournment debates. The

skill has stood him in good stead at the United Nations where he is a match for both wit and brains. Because he is theoretically at this moment presiding at a dinner in honor of Dr. Evatt, Australia's Minister of State for External Affairs, he will have to leave us immediately after his speech.

We are therefore especially thankful to have him here for a brief time and I know how glad you will be to hear the address of this distinguished Scot, The Honorable Hector McNeil.

MR. McNEIL: When Mr. Secretary Marshall spoke at Harvard on June 5 he did nothing less than challenge the nations of Europe. He said that whatever help the United States could give, the initiative must come from Europe. Sixteen countries of Europe have taken up that challenge. Invited by M. Bidault and by my chief, Ernest Bevin, they met in Paris in the middle of July, and by the end of September the report of their deliberations was ready for publication. Their report, I say modestly, is a remarkable document. It is worth the closest study.

To assess properly the value of the report it is essential to appreciate the background. The scale of devastation and dislocation caused by the second world war was more intensive and more extensive than the damage of the first world war. Whole cities, great industrial areas, many ports, complete transportation systems were smashed by the ingenuity and the valor of American, British and Allied airmen and by the panicky fear of the retreating enemy. As a result, the industrial production of Europe was reduced, I dare say, to a lower level than it had known for seventy-five years.

The damage does not end there. The soil of western Europe, bled white for a period by the Nazi occupiers, has been starved for seven or eight years of fertilizers. Its productivity is desperately reduced. Moreover, skilled agricultural labor has been scattered from the Baltic to the Mediterranean; agricultural machinery, overworked and destroyed, has not been replaced. Consequently, the gross total of food produced in western Europe is lower now than in 1938, because of misfortunes and devastation visited upon the area.

To these native deficiencies must be added these disturbing facts: eastern Europe no longer exports food on the pre-war scale, and western Germany, for example, as a result is forced now to turn to the Western Hemisphere to avoid starvation. Southeast Asia, too, used to send fats to Europe and rice to India. But, once more, because of the Japanese invasion Europe must try to replace these fats and India must try to replace that rice again by buying from the Western Hemisphere.

Now I can see at once that it is peculiarly a miracle of this century that the United States and Canada and other countries of the

American continent have transported these mountains of food and raw material to meet the hungers of Europe and Asia, and partially to restart their smashed and broken economies.

But this flow of food and raw materials and equipment from West to East across the Atlantic has to be matched by either a flow of dollars in return, or by a supply of goods which the American continent wants. No one knows that better than the people of my country and of Europe. But Europe has just emerged from disaster, and they have had to spend much of their effort in the last two years rebuilding their factories, their roads, their bridges, their railways, their canals, their shipyards and their homes. Their natural commercial production has therefore been greatly retarded.

Consequently, the United Kingdom and nearly every country of western Europe has had to draw upon their gold and their dollars to meet these deficiencies. We should remember here the great assistance already provided by the United States, by Canada, and by other countries, including my own, who, through United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and other international devices, made contributions in the emergency period.

Despite this, however, the exchange reserves of Europe have been and are still being steadily drained away. Their needs for food and for raw materials are still high. The dollars left are perilously few. Here is the essential root of the dollar problem. No one can explain it away in other terms. As the world recovers, this problem will right itself. Europe will not always need these goods in these quantities, and by the development of her exports she will once more earn the dollars she needs to buy food and raw materials from the American continent. But meantime there is this gap, this deficiency, this barrier.

I must say here, however, that any one who pictures Europe limping along, hand outstretched for dollar charity, wrongs Europe badly, wickedly. Europe, up to last winter, had made remarkable strides in recovery. I can offer relevent figures from my own country which are dramatic. I come from Clydeside. I therefore know about shipbuilding. In 1938, taking no account of repairs or reconversions, we were building 780,000 tons. In July of this year we had under construction 1,875,000 tons of shipping—more than half the total tonnage building in the entire world. Not luxury shipping, like the Clyde-built Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth (in which I naturally exult). But tankers, freighters, coasters, barges, the vessels for which the world waits efficiently to move its food and its produce.

Let me give you a few more figures. In this year, as compared with 1938, we are building 75 per cent more trucks, we are fabricating 55 per cent more rayon yarn, we are processing 26 per cent more steel, we are generating 45 per cent more coal gas and 67 per cent more electricity than we did in that year. There are industries where

the figures are not quite so impressive, but in these industries reorganization and reconstruction is already taking place. Make no mistake. Britain is on the move, her people are aware of their obligations, and that is true broadly of all western Europe.

But the pace of our recovery has been retarded by forces outside our control. The frost of last winter and the heat of this summer struck western Europe so badly, so sharply, that there is no parallel—in my lifetime at least. The whole economy of western Europe has again been slowed down. Many countries have had to cut their imports of essential food and raw materials. They are living from hand to mouth, scarcely able to budget for a month ahead, and that was the situation developing when Mr. Marshall made his arresting Harvard speech. And I regret to have to report that the situation has deteriorated since that day.

This, then, is the background against which the statesmen and the economists of sixteen western European countries had to measure their efforts when they responded to the challenge made by Mr. Marshall. Their target was to put Europe economically on its feet by the end of 1951. Their project is based upon four lines of action:

1. A strong production effort by each country concerned.
2. The re-creation of internal financial stability in their respective countries.
3. Co-operation between the participating governments.
4. A solution of their respective dollar deficits, particularly by raising their export level.

As every one will appreciate, this production effort is a gigantic one. It is, and I measure my words, on a similar scale to that launched by the United States in the mobilization years of 1940-44. The recovery plan calls for the increase of coal output by one-third between 1947 and 1951, for an increase of steel production, excluding Germany, by nearly two-thirds, for an increase in the generation of electricity by 40 per cent above the 1947 figure. Moreover, this is to be done by the European nations themselves. They, for these purposes, will supply almost all the capital equipment. In such an extension a great burden is quite properly placed upon the United Kingdom. Our coal program, it is planned, should be expanded from almost 200,000,000 tons this year to almost 250,000,000 tons in 1951. This is an ambitious program. But you can be assured that my government and the people of Britain will spare no effort to overtake it.

Now, this recovery plan for Europe goes further than this. The European nations are obliged not only to help themselves but to help each other. The Alpine powers, for example, are pledged to harness the water and energy of their mountains. German lignite deposits are

to be exploited, and even the Italian reserves of geothermic energy are to be brought to the service of all Europe.

Nations have agreed to the use of certain standardized equipment, they will operate similar freight cars, study pooling arrangements for them. Many of the economic vicious circles ensnaring Europe are to be smashed.

I wish I could tell you that our troubles now were ended. It is not so. But despite this determination to co-operate, the participating countries will in the immediate future still require large quantities of food, fuel, raw materials, which can only come, broadly speaking, from the American continent. They are not extravagant requirements, believe me. None of these countries is sitting back waiting for American charity. Even when, in 1951, as I confidently believe, the European economy will be almost solvent, there will be less food, less clothing, less gasoline, less comfort, in many of these countries than when these countries in 1939 took on the fight against Fascism.

Don't mistake me. As I see it, this is not just another relief program. I shall never forget the help which I saw go not only to western but to eastern and central Europe. As long as I live I will know that without that relief Europe, having been delivered from Fascism, would have been delivered to hunger and disease and death. But this is not relief. That I insist. This is an investment, an investment in Europe. It is a recovery program. The proposals are a statement of the production effort that the European peoples consider, after calculation, they themselves can achieve, provided they make the maximum use of their own resources and provided, above all, that they do receive certain scheduled, scrupulously estimated capital equipment, foodstuffs and raw materials from overseas without having to pay dollars for them. They do not here ask charity. They have not the dollars with which to pay.

If this program is achieved, it should result in western Europe so nearly balancing its imports by its exports at the end of 1951 that any remaining gap could be filled by normal commercial means. The program, in my submission, must be taken as a whole. No one can play ducks and drakes with it, taking out here, putting in there. Its different parts, on the best advice available to us, interlock with each other—food depends upon fertilizers, steel on coal, machinery in its turn upon steel, and all upon transport. If the component parts fail, the program at best will take much longer, cost much more to achieve, and at worst—upon that I cannot and dare not speculate.

It is difficult for me to be unemotional upon this subject. Europe is on a pronounced downward spiral. Should it continue, the consequences for Europe, and for the world to which Europe reaches out, are incalculable. Statisticians tell us how many will starve and perish before the next harvest is won, economists can tell us how

many people will be idle and empty of hope because materials are lacking to keep the factories going. But the political, the social, the family stresses that hunger and unemployment cause have never been and never will be calculated by statisticians and economists. You may put on a register the figures, but you cannot on a register put men, women, children, their hopes and their fears. And no Christian should ever attempt to do so.

Robert Marjolin

Deputy Commissioner General, Plan of Modernization and Equipment

France's Role

MISS HIETT: We were sorry to learn only a few days ago that Jean Monnet could not be here in person to speak to you of France's role in European reconstruction; but we are delighted to have his able young deputy, Robert Marjolin. We are also very lucky to have him for, since his arrival from France a few weeks ago, Mr. Marjolin has been working round the clock in Washington as a member of the European delegation now carrying on conversations in Washington in connection with the Marshall proposals.

Mr. Marjolin is no stranger to this country. His wife is American, from Charleston, West Virginia, and he, himself, spent a year here as a Rockefeller fellow at Yale.

There is no other Frenchman who has had so close a connection with both France's plan for economic reconstruction and modernization at home and in the drafting of the European answer to Secretary Marshall's suggestion. Robert Marjolin.

MR. MARJOLIN: It is Jean Monnet, the General Commissioner of the Plan of Modernization and Equipment, who should be here

tonight. Unfortunately, he has been detained in Paris by urgent work which I shall tell you about in a moment. He has asked me to make his apologies to you and to speak to you in his place.

I feel that it is a great privilege to speak tonight before an audience so distinguished and accomplished, and I wish to thank the organizers of the Forum for providing me the opportunity to define the meaning for France both of General Marshall's great proposal and the plan which has resulted from the work of the Committee of European Economic Co-operation. I am confident that the observations which I am about to make would receive the approval of many of the other participants in that common enterprise.

The essence of the Marshall plan, in my opinion, is the idea that American assistance can achieve its purpose only if in each country individually, and in all of the participating countries acting in co-operation, the necessary effort is made to expand production, increase the efficiency of agriculture and industry and stabilize money and prices. These three efforts, complementary yet closely interdependent, constitute the chapter headings of the various national programs as well as of the program of European co-operation.

American assistance has for its object, therefore, not to save Europe but to make it possible for Europe to save itself; not to obviate the necessary European effort, but to bring about the conditions which are required if that effort is to be effective and is to produce the required results; to make Europe again financially self-supporting, not to accustom it to live on outside assistance.

The Marshall plan is a plan of recovery and not a plan of relief, or, to use the words of General Marshall himself, it should provide a cure and not a palliative. It is not intended to furnish to Europe, month by month or year by year, the minimum which will prevent it from sinking down into chaos, thereby saving it from death without giving it a chance to recover its health. Its purpose is not to condition it progressively to a dependence on the United States, which would ultimately poison the relations of the two continents.

What makes the Marshall plan great and unique in human history is the idea of a common undertaking, in which we are all associated, to which we contribute according to our capabilities with the common object of saving the civilization which we embody on both sides of the Atlantic.

The most important contribution which France and the other participating countries can make to this common enterprise is a full effort of production to the point where they are able to supply to one another a substantial part of the products which are necessary to recovery.

The story of the last three years is a story of which France need not be ashamed. During the occupation and the battles for liberation,

Frenchmen devoted themselves to destroying or paralyzing their own apparatus of production so as to accelerate the Allied victory. This reduced the industrial production of France almost to nothing. During the first half of 1945, as a result of the lack of coal and raw materials, it did not rise above 40 per cent of 1938, but rapid progress has been made since, and for the first time last May the factories and mines produced a greater volume of goods than before the war.

I should like to quote the statement made some weeks ago by an American observer on his return from a trip to France and England. Captain Granville Conway, in his capacity as "Co-ordinator of Emergency Export Programs," has played a decisive role in providing Europe with coal and wheat, and consequently a decisive role in European recovery. Speaking of France and England, he declared: "I was last abroad in January, 1945, and on this present trip I saw enormous improvement. It is true they have a long way to go, but they are making real progress. . . . The French, for instance, have repaired and put 4,000 bridges back into service. Their efficiency index in railroads is back to within 15 per cent of the best they did before the war. In both England and France they have accomplished a great deal."

French labor has, since liberation, made a magnificent effort in spite of very bad conditions of food, heat and shelter. I want to call your attention to a little known fact. While the average work week in 1938 was only thirty-nine hours, it was raised to 43½ hours during the first half of 1946, to forty-four during the second half and to forty-five hours last July. It would today be forty-eight hours if the supply of raw material permitted.

Moreover, I think it should be emphasized that while French labor has suffered under the most arduous conditions, the years 1945 and 1946 and the first months of 1947 have seen no major strike which has seriously interrupted French production. Higher praise cannot be paid to the responsibility of the French workers and their unions. Even in last May and June, months marked by several strikes, the total number of work days lost did not exceed 2 per cent of the total work days in industry.

As for agriculture, any one who has traveled through the French countryside knows that our peasants work as much and with the same enthusiasm as before the war. The wheat failure this year, resulting from catastrophic weather conditions, tends to obscure the fact that in 1946 agricultural production had attained 85 per cent of the pre-war level, while in the intervening time the number of farmers has been reduced almost 10 per cent by the casualties of war and the movement into the cities, and while available horses, fertilizer and farm machinery have been reduced by an even greater percentage.

Since last year the French production effort has been inspired and

symbolized by the Plan of Modernization and Equipment. This plan is popularly called the Monnet Plan, from the name of the man who, after having played a decisive role which is well known to you in the Allied war effort, conceived the idea of the plan and has directed its development.

During the first half of 1947 the production objectives fixed by the plan have been achieved 100 per cent in electricity, 91 per cent in coal, 94 per cent in steel production, 90 per cent in transport and 85 per cent in textile manufacturing. That results have not been even greater than these, that certain industries have lagged behind, has been due to the lack of coal and the resultant lack of steel.

If we now consider the future, the objectives of the plan indicate the effort which France is determined to achieve. By 1951, in agriculture, a production 10 per cent greater than pre-war; in industry, from 40 to 50 per cent greater; a great increase in productivity of labor—these are some of the objectives of the French plan which have been incorporated in the Marshall plan.

More important even than the objectives of the Monnet plan is the method by which it has been developed and is in the process of being carried out. The great principle which it applies is that enunciated by President Roosevelt:

"Creation is the victory of persuasion, not of force."

Nothing valuable is accomplished by force. The great things evolve from the grass roots of the nation and are achieved by the co-operation of all. The true leader is the man who knows how to combine the spontaneous efforts of every one into a collective achievement.

In this sense, the French plan is a work of persuasion and not of force. Here is the best guaranty that it represents a true creation and that it will be fulfilled. All the vital forces of the nation have combined for its realization—the workers, the peasants, the industrialists, the technicians, the civil servants—and all are determined to see it through to success.

To give you an example of what can be done by co-operation in a common effort, let me mention the trade unions, which, after becoming convinced of the exigencies of the French situation, have spontaneously agreed to the extension of the work week to forty-eight hours and to a policy of large-scale immigration of foreign workers.

This same method is being applied to the second step of French recovery, the financial reform and the stabilization of money and prices. While inflation continues, orderly development is not possible; resources are squandered or concealed. The plan, that is to say, the increasing of production and the modernization of the country, is dependent on financial stabilization as a necessary prerequisite.

The French Parliament and the French government have already

made great efforts to bring about this condition. But new steps, more drastic than any so far, must be taken. Recognizing this, Prime Minister Ramadier has created a committee of five to determine the necessary measures. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Ramadier, this committee comprises the Minister of Finance, the Minister of National Economy, the General Commissioner of the plan and the Governor of the Bank of France.

To stop inflation we must balance the resources and expenditures of the nation by increasing the resources and restricting the expenditures. The first step toward accomplishing this is the establishment of a national balance sheet. This task has been intrusted to a commission acting under the direction of the general commissioner of the plan and composed of representatives of the same groups who have worked together in developing the plan of modernization.

A first series of measures consisting of reduction in expenditures for the state budget have already been taken; others will follow successively.

If I have insisted so much on the French national effort, it is not because I underestimate European co-operation but because I am convinced that European co-operation requires, for its full development, economic units which have recovered their financial and monetary equilibrium and which are expanding their production.

France's first obligation toward Europe is to realize these conditions at home.

France is absolutely convinced of the necessity for a close co-operation among the countries of Europe, including—so far as possible—those European nations which were not able to associate themselves with the work of the Paris conference. To illustrate this, I need only refer to the proposal of the French government regarding the creation of a customs union between all the countries willing to participate.

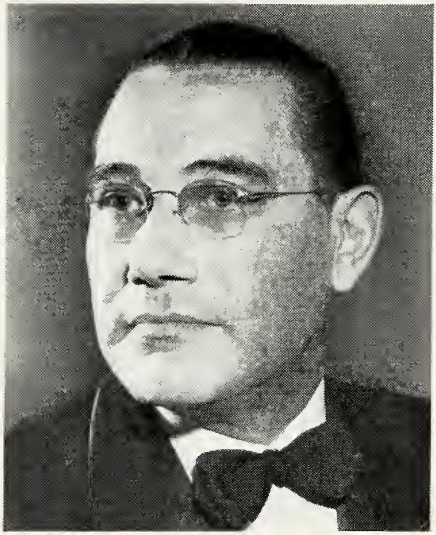
I shall not speak to you of the outside assistance which is necessary for the recovery of Europe, and which is analyzed in the report of the Committee of European Economic Co-operation. This country has already shown by its past generosity its complete understanding of the European recovery problems. I have been vividly impressed since my arrival in the United States by the unanimity of the press and among the people as to their willingness to help Europe to get back on its feet again.

I should like, in concluding, to focus your attention on a delicate point, which could be the source of misunderstanding. Some American observers have been from time to time shocked by what they call the nationalistic spirit of the European countries, by their national sensitiveness, by the jealous care with which they protect their inde-

pendence and by their mistrust of anything which might infringe upon it.

This is because they have behind them a long history of struggle and suffering to safeguard their autonomy. Let us not forget that it is in their love of country that for five years they found the strength to resist the German tyranny. Their nationalism, even when it seems a little narrow, is the expression of their desire for independence and is a manifestation of their passionate attachment for liberty, which they share with the citizens of this great republic.

The enterprise in which we are engaged is a difficult undertaking which brings together people with very different histories and experience. But we find the guaranty of success in their common will to maintain or create the conditions which will permit the free development of the human personality.



Dr. Edmond Jaspar

Secretary General of the Customs Union among Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg

United Low Countries—A Contribution to Peace

MISS HIETT: I think Dr. Jaspar will be a find for social anthropologists of the future. He represents a newly emerging kind of man—the missing link between our still nationalistic society and its dream of world community.

As Secretary General of the Customs Union among Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, his allegiance is no longer to a nation but to the people of three nations whom he serves. This union was conceived in adversity by three exiled foreign ministers, Dr. Van Kleffens, Dr. Spaak, and Dr. Bech, who not only had faith in the future, but sure knowledge of the new work that lay ahead for them when their lands were free again.

As Secretary General, Dr. Jaspar was the obvious choice. Born in the Netherlands, of Belgian ancestry, trained as an international lawyer, he is, by background, abilities, interests, and allegiance, as well as by the many languages he speaks, a prototype of the future world citizen.

Although the countries he serves are small, together they take third place in the volume of world trade. But they're in first place as an example of world economic co-operation.

The origin of this Customs Union—already being studied by other nations in Europe—is proof of the adage that when destruction is greatest, the barriers to change are also gone . . . Dr. Edmond Jaspar.

DR. JASPAR: It is a great honor for me to be here tonight and have the opportunity to talk to you in my capacity of Secretary General of the Netherlands-Belgian-Luxembourg Customs and Economic Union, about the extremely close economic co-operation which these three countries intend to realize and which they certainly *will* realize.

First, though, I want to express the gratitude of the Low Countries to the American people for all you did for us during the war and after the liberation. If now we are again free, independent, democratic states, and contributing with all our hearts to the reconstruction of the world and the maintenance of peace, we owe it to a great extent to the bold, brave American soldiers of whom—alas—so many found their last home in Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, far from their native soil. We'll never forget that.

Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg want to show that these sacrifices have not been in vain. They want to contribute to the pacification of the world in a practical way. The Netherlands-Belgian-Luxembourg Customs Union is a constructive plan, aiming at peaceful collaboration in the economic field. It has no political implications, and is most certainly not directed against any country whatever. On the contrary: it asks for nothing better than to be the impulse to an even more widespread co-operation.

The economic co-operation among the three countries is embodied in the convention signed in London on Sept. 5, 1944. This co-operation will gradually take shape and grow. As a start it is merely a tariff union; but it is hoped that it will grow into a customs union, which will in its turn ultimately culminate in a complete economic union.

In order to realize these three phases, the pact has provided for the institution of three councils: the Administrative Council for the Customs Tariff; the Council for Trade Agreements; and the Council for the Economic Union.

A general secretariat was established in Brussels, the first of July 1946, to stimulate and co-ordinate the activity of these councils, as well as to propagate the idea of the Customs and Economic Union; this secretariat is an international body, directed by a Dutch secretary general, with assistants from Belgium and Luxembourg.

I have mentioned the three steps by which the complete economic union is to be realized. The first, the Tariff Union, has been accomplished. The three countries now have the same import duties, accepted with an overwhelming majority by the three Parliaments last July. The first phase means that henceforth no import duties will be charged. The other duties, such as excise duties, turnover-tax, statistic-duties and a special import duty will still be charged for the time being, until the second phase, the real Customs Union, comes into operation. Owing to the scarcity of foreign exchange, the commercial traffic among the three countries is still rationed in order to keep a balance. The sooner we can remove these restrictions, the better for the complete economic union we have in view.

With great energy the joint Council for the Customs-tariff is now preparing the way for harmonizing the remaining legislation on customs duties, excise duties, turnover-tax and other taxes. It is hoped that it will be possible to put these matters on a common ground in the course of one year. Once this second phase has been attained, not a single duty will be left to be charged at the common frontiers, although the goods traffic will still be subject to exchange control and maybe to some other rationing measures as well, so as not to disturb markets unduly.

Meanwhile, the Council for Trade Agreements works to coordinate the trade agreements of our three countries with countries outside our union, and arranges for joint representation at international conferences. The unanimity of the three countries in this respect was shown at the preparatory Conference of Trade and Employment, held at Geneva, and later at the Paris Conference of the European States for the Marshall plan.

The Council for Trade Agreements is doing its work in an atmosphere of friendship and confidence, and with a firm intention to succeed. Already the United Low Countries have concluded an agreement with South Africa.

I have pointed out before that what we are ultimately aiming at is a full economic union among the three countries. A special council, the Council for the Economic Union, has been charged with this task, and it is a hard task indeed to mould the national economics of the three countries into one. For economic union means that the three countries, while each retaining its own political independence and sovereignty, will form an economic financial and monetary entity. Not a single frontier will be left within the economic union, except outside the purely economic field. Mutual commercial traffic will be entirely free, no impediments whatever will be left. In the economic union it will be just the same whether goods are being sold by Amsterdam to Rotterdam, or by Amsterdam to Brussels and Luxembourg.

This happy state of affairs, however, will require the removal of wide divergencies in the economic, social and monetary life of the three countries involved. The franc and florin, for instance, will have to be interchangeable. Cost of living and wages shouldn't differ more than would be reasonable between various places in one big country according to local conditions.

It will not be an easy task; many a difficulty presents itself; for example, there is the question of industrialization. The three union-partners will have to specialize their industries by mutual agreement. Within the union there will have to be a kind of division of labor among the three partners in all sectors of the industrial life. Such a division of labor is a benefit; it will not only stimulate unanimity, but also increase the production and sales of individual concerns.

The same is true with agricultural and horticultural problems. Here, as well, a uniformity has to be attained by mutual arrangement, but I assure you that the prospects in this regard are not unfavorable.

Of course, there are other problems. It goes without saying that within the three component states of the economic union, a more or less similar policy has to be pursued as to prices and wages, and from a general point of view they have to be on the same level. The same policy is to be followed concerning labor conditions and social insurance. If this were not done, the labor market would be exposed to serious stresses, which might upset the balance in the union. At this very moment wages and prices in Belgium and Luxembourg are on a higher level than those in Holland; we are fully confident, however, that during the years which are still separating us from the economic union—for mind you, this union is a long-term work and has to be prepared very carefully—prices and wages in the three countries will approximate one another, until finally they will meet on about the same level.

Other problems to be solved are the unification of the tax system and the problem of our ports. Such ports as Antwerp and Rotterdam have always competed on the score of their common hinterland. Of course, there has to be a certain competition, but this competition shouldn't do any harm to the economy of the union.

Certainly nobody in the three countries will deny that these are difficult and delicate problems; but even skeptics will tell you that all these difficulties can be overcome provided the three countries unflinchingly want to succeed.

A question you will surely ask is: "Who is preparing all this? Merely the officials?" As I told you already, the three councils have been charged with the realization of the Customs as well as of the Economic Union. Just like their subcommittees, these councils are composed of higher officials of the three countries. The way in which

the councils and committees are fulfilling their task really is beyond all praise. There is not a bit of the atmosphere that marks so many international conferences, each partner wanting to take everything in exchange for nothing. In the councils and committees the members sit around a table, with just one thought in mind: "How can we best join forces?" "Surely this looks fine." Industrial and commercial experts are closely involved in the activity of the committees, and are playing their own part in it, a very important part.

You will also ask: "What are Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg aiming at by concluding this Economic and Customs Union?"

In my opinion the answer to this question is a double one. Of all the countries of western Europe, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg suffered most from the war. The German occupation has so shattered economic life that reconstruction and re-establishment can be attained only by close co-operation. It is like the soldier wounded in the eye helping the one wounded in the leg. That is the first answer.

The second is, that our countries are convinced that abolishing trade barriers is a necessary condition for the restoration of trade and maybe peace among nations. Once this union among Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg is established, nothing can prevent the example from being followed. And why cannot the idea of union then be enlarged to take in other countries? The Low Countries, which in the past have so often carried the torch of civilization and progress, now again want to show the way by removing economic difficulties, tariff barriers, and so on; thereby removing contrasts between peoples, smoothing out their differences. Therefore the three countries consider their union a work of peace; they believe that the time for talk is past, and that positive action is wanted. This desire shows itself clearly in the conviction that on behalf of the common weal of the union sacrifices are to be made on both sides. The ideal to be reached is the economic union, and I'm sure this ideal is worthy of the sacrifices being made.

Now is the right moment for action. And this action is not an aggressive nor a bellicose one; it is not prompted by pursuit of profit, narrow-minded nationalism and envy. On the contrary; it is the contribution of the badly damaged Low Countries to the mental and economic reconstruction of Europe and the whole world. This is the meaning of the United Low Countries—Les Pays Bas Unis—which people, alas, call "Benelux," a meaning that reaches far beyond the frontiers of the three countries.

That is why this union fits so well the Marshall plan. The three countries have exerted their utmost strength to emerge from the ruins left by occupation and war. Only he who himself has done all he could to stand firm, together with his neighbors and against

economic disorganization, may claim the support that good friends won't deny him.

The project of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg to attain an economic union is not only a great but also a grand project. To the question asked by the skeptics, whether this endeavor is not too hard for these three small countries, I'll answer with the words I always quote in Europe, words from that great King of the Belgians, Leopold II: "Il n'y a pas de petits états, il n'y a que petits esprits. Quand les hommes sont grands, si étroites que soient les frontierès, ils parviennent à faire de grandes choses." Or in English: "There are no small states, there are only narrow minds. If men are great, they succeed in doing great things notwithstanding narrow frontiers."

Jennie Lee

Member of Parliament

The New Britain

MISS HIETT: Jennie Lee the daughter and granddaughter of British miners, has been an unique figure in British political life ever since she entered Parliament, aged 24, after a brilliant university career. The wife of Aneurin Bevan, British Minister of Health, today she combines active Parliamentary work with the job of directing the "Tribune," Britain's labor weekly.

She is the kind of fervent feminist who insists on the same disciplined economic thinking among women that is demanded for any trade union group. Thus, although she had fought hard for equal pay for women, she recently came out against it because it might provoke a dangerous general demand for wage increases in the present crisis.

We have all heard the routine facts and cold figures about Britain's war suffering and present effort to recover. Tonight we are going to hear something more, because Jennie Lee—by what she is and stands for as a human being—makes it come alive. She is both a great force in the new Britain and typical of it. Jennie Lee.

MISS LEE: I am very glad to be here. It is good to be meeting you in these superbly democratic circumstances. We meet to talk and to talk plainly. No iron curtain separates us, not even a London mist or a New York smog. We have also the advantage that we are not professional diplomats. We can say exactly what we please. And I would consider it an abuse of your hospitality if I were not prepared to speak with the complete frankness I know you expect.

But may I, before talking about my own country, say just one thing about yours? I am convinced that no genuine American would tolerate any outside nation telling him—or her—how to run America's affairs. I am convinced that, as people, you just don't like being pushed around, you don't like being told you must do this or that. You like making up your minds for yourselves. I could not agree with you more. That is an attitude I entirely understand and respect, for it is precisely my own attitude to my own country's affairs. Indeed, that was one of the reasons why, when the first American loan was debated in the British House of Commons, I spoke against it and I voted against it.

At the present time the whole world is anxiously discussing General Marshall's proposals. I fervently hope a plan can be worked out that can be honorably accepted on both sides of the Atlantic. But, so far as Britain is concerned, let this be plainly understood: There is not the slightest doubt that with or without American help our people will win through.

Great Britain today might have been in a position of complete chaos and hopelessness. There might have been widespread industrial strikes paralyzing any hope of industrial recovery. There might have been bread riots in protest against flagrant black marketing. There might have been mass demonstrations of homeless people clamoring for shelter.

All that would have followed, I assure you, if at the end of the war we had removed price controls and rationing, if we had left our coal mines in the hands of the pre-war coal owners, if we had accepted the advice given us from time to time by British conservatives and occasionally from American ones, to abandon socialist measures and trust to the normal functioning of capitalist economy.

I don't believe, as I have already said, in any country telling another country how it should run its affairs, but I do want to emphasize that a Socialist government and only a Socialist government could have carried post-war Britain through the difficulties of those last two years.

Let me tell you straight away, measured in human terms, what I consider our happiest and proudest achievement. We have created a new privileged class in Britain. In the past, visiting Americans have sometimes found it rather difficult to meet what you called our

privileged classes. There is no difficulty today. You can meet those new British aristocrats by looking into any baby's perambulator.

Faced with a situation in which we have not enough food to give all of us a decent diet, we are modestly proud of the way we have made quite certain our youngsters shall not suffer. From our scarce supplies we have piled up priority claims on milk, eggs, orange juice, cod-liver oil and the other essentials needed by expectant mothers and babies. We have done this so successfully that the maternal death rate in Britain today is only half what it was in the days of so-called peace and plenty before the war.

And the babies themselves look wonderful. I find it a deeply moving sight to see the contrast between some of our mothers with stunted bodies, rickets, all the signs that they in their childhood were neglected and half-starved, and their beautiful, fine-limbed children. Mother and child sometimes look as if they belonged to entirely different breeds. And, of course, every priority available to the children of the poor is equally available to the children of every other income group. We are not concerned with just some of our children. We are equally concerned to provide the tenderest protection within our means for all of them.

But I wonder how that kind of achievement looks when seen through American eyes? For, of course, we could only do it by what some people appear to consider a shocking curtailment of individual liberty. In order to insure that those whose needs are greatest are served first, all of us in Britain must submit to a strict system of rationing and price control.

As with food, so with clothing, housing, and all our other needs. The possession of wealth and titles in Britain today does not enable any one to build a house if another family, however poor, is in greater need. We see to it that those whose circumstances are most desperate are served first. To do this, we build houses mainly to rent, and we forbid luxury building.

It is the cumulative effect of measures of this kind that give Britain's Labor government a profound moral authority. It is not easy for any one, of whatever political outlook or income level, to argue that property rights are more important than human rights. For that and other reasons, let me say in passing that one of your leading American magazines ought really to have known better than to suggest that some of us in Britain would like to abolish Parliament and free elections and a free press.

On the contrary we thrive on free speech. Our greatest safeguards are our traditional British liberties. Indeed, we love liberty so much that we intend in the next few years to extend its frontiers. We believe it more than time that modern men and women should not only be free to speak as they please, but free and able to eat as

they please, live as they please and to enjoy a fair share of all the furniture—intellectual, spiritual, recreational, as well as physical—that a sanely organized economic system can provide.

And indeed, already in Britain, although collectively we are poorer than before the war, millions of our people are better off. If you go among agricultural workers, miners, those who were unemployed or partially unemployed before the war, you can find out that for yourself. That is part of the reason why in twenty by-elections since the general election, the government has held its ground, a unique record in our Parliamentary history.

It is quite true that in Britain today we are striving with the primitive problems of bread and shelter, but any one who looks carefully at the great production drive now in full swing can see the foundations being laid of a society which will give ordinary people a better time than they ever had in the past. You have got us all wrong if you think we like austerity for its own sake. We like beautiful china, and fabrics, and motor cars, and all the things of special loveliness and skill our factories can produce. Indeed, at the end of the war it took us a little time to get used to the idea that, although a victor nation, all our best goods would have to be paid out in tribute abroad in return for bread and spam. But we have got hold of it now. We no longer believe means can be found to apply the principle of equality of sacrifice. We know now we have to find our way through the tough way. It is a kind of peace time 1940 with us.

But believe me, now as then, we are utterly confident. Already, if you examine the record, you will see that something like a miracle of production has been achieved. In every one of our major industries, with the exception of cotton and coal, present output exceeds the pre-war figure. That has been done in two years, grappling with blitzed homes and factories, with obsolete industrial equipment, with the dislocation inevitable in an island where our total man power, woman power and industrial resources had been mobilized for war purposes 100 per cent.

All that Britain needs is time. Even the coal problem, the toughest of the lot for us, is shaping well. This year we produced more coal than last year, last year more than the year before. Output per man has increased. Absenteeism is decreasing; we begin to export next year. Some would-be clever economists completely falsify the coal position. They talk as if it were cattle or slaves who manned our mines instead of free British workmen. The British miner is better off than in the past, but has still a very great deal of which he can justifiably complain.

One serious problem is that two-fifths of our miners are over forty years of age, one-fifth over fifty years of age. It takes time

to persuade the younger men to come into the mines. It takes time to train them. And although the men working at the coal face can make good money if they are strong and skilled, it is not sufficiently well known that more than two-thirds of the underground workers earn only £5 a week, surface workers even less.

I have some of the hard facts of the coal situation in my hands at the moment. They are the weekly pay checks of men in my own constituency. I have brought them with me to America so that you can figure out from first-hand evidence just how much truth there is in the slander that our men are pampered, privileged, over-paid and work-shy. But like the rest of the British community, the British miner has become fighting mad. He has even voluntarily accepted a lengthening of his working hours.

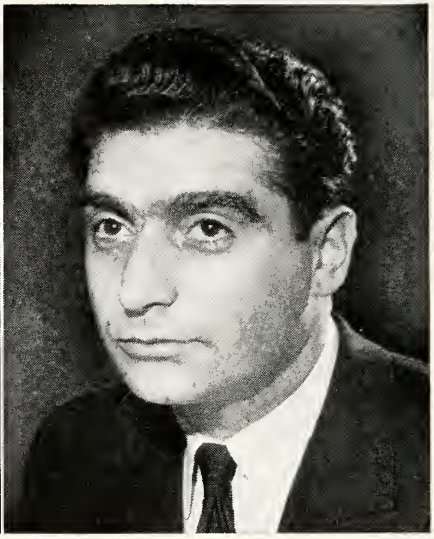
It is good to be alive in Britain today. It is good in the same exhilarating way that it was good to be alive in the early days of your American revolution. We are off on our covered wagons. Don't ask me to show you a blueprint of the way. There are no blueprints. There never are when a pioneering job has to be done. All there can be is a willingness to take risks and a profound belief in the worthwhileness of what you are doing.

I confess to you that your modern American speaks with so many different voices that we are frankly puzzled by you. Sometimes we think the ghost of George III must have slunk past the Statue of Liberty and taken up residence over here. Sometimes we feel the old revolutionary tradition, with its hatred of privilege and its concern for the ordinary man, remains the strongest force in your land. If that last is true, you will understand what is happening in Britain today. You will wish us Godspeed on our journey. And you will know that no power on earth can compel or persuade us to turn back.

MISS HIETT: Miss Lee, because we've been talking about the freedoms essential in a democracy, I think you would want me to read this telegram that's just come in.

It says "Urge you emphasize the Forum Jennie Lee not entitled to speak behalf of Britain in general. Cannock particularly. At least 30,000 Cannock voters oppose her views." In thirty seconds can you tell us why 30,000 Cannock voters oppose you?

MISS LEE: Of course, I can! . . . I'm proud of my opponents for talking up in this way. I suppose that when General Marshall or even President Truman goes abroad there are some honest Americans who want to let the world know that he may speak for some Americans but not for all Americans and that's the position in every free country.



John Steinbeck and Robert Capa

Special Correspondents, New York Herald Tribune

A Russian Story

MRS. REID: Many weeks ago Mr. Gromyko was invited for the third year to speak at the Forum. Because of work at the United Nations he was unable to give me his final decision until last Wednesday. The answer was "no." We were sorry.

Fortunately two special correspondents of the New York Herald Tribune have just returned from the Soviet Union. They saw none of the government officials but they went where they pleased through the country and they saw a great deal of the Russian people. It is a report of their experience that we want to bring you tonight.

You all know John Steinbeck through his writing about people in "Grapes of Wrath," "Tortilla Flat," "Of Mice and Men" and recently "The Wayward Bus." People are the roots of his writing.

Robert Capa is a gifted Hungarian photographer, a refugee from totalitarianism and the author of a recent book called "Slightly Out of Focus." Beginning with the war in Spain he has taken his camera wherever there is human conflict and suffering, focusing it always

on the joys and sorrows of human beings. He speaks innumerable languages but when asked what one he thinks in, he said, "I think in pictures." He and Steinbeck are blood brothers in their belief that the best way to learn about nations is to learn about people. I present to you, John Steinbeck and Robert Capa.

MR. CAPA: I am a photographer and I have an enormous accent. Mr. Steinbeck is a writer and he has enormous laryngitis. So this performance on which we should have been stuttering together falls on me alone, and you have to stand for it.

During the Spanish civil conflict I became a war photographer. Later I photographed the "phony war" and ended up by taking pictures of the hot war. When all this was over I was very happy to become an unemployed war photographer, and I hope to stay unemployed as a war photographer till the end of my life.

But last spring the flying saucers appeared on the horizon, and I took out my cameras again. That was at the beginning of a newly invented war which was named the cold war. And no one knew where the battlefields were.

While I was figuring what to do I met Mr. Steinbeck, who had his own problems. He was struggling with a reluctant play, and the cold war gave him the same shivers it gave me. To make it short, we became a cold-war team. It seemed to us that behind phrases like "iron curtain," "cold war" and "preventive war" people and thought and humor had fully disappeared. We decided to make an old-fashioned Don Quixote and Sancho Panza quest—to ride behind the "iron curtain" and pit our pens, lances and lenses against the windmills of today.

We decided from the beginning not to try to answer any of the questions every one answers at least twice a day with or without experience or information. We just wanted to find out how Russian people look, eat, make love and what they talk about. This is the commonest story, and we went the simplest way about it. First we called the Herald Tribune, and they said it was a good idea. Then we filled up two cards for the Russian Consulate, on which we described our forefathers and pasted three pictures.

Six weeks later, not absolutely without queries and counter-queries, but with no enormous difficulty, we received our visas. When we arrived in Russia we found that the famous red carpet was not rolled out for us. No one received us on the airfield, and we had no horse, no mule and no car to get into the town. So we hitch-hiked to the famous Hotel Metropole, where we found also no room prepared for us.

If anybody should ask about the Potemkin villages which the Russians prepared for us, then we can only reply that for many

days we slept in the Potemkin room of the Hotel Metropole. Finally an official received us and asked us about our intentions. We told him that our intentions were strictly dishonorable. We wanted to go around and see, talk to and photograph the people of Russia, and we did not want to see Mr. Stalin, Mr. No. 2 or No. 3, only the No. Millions.

We also told him that we intended to write and show what we had seen, favorable or unfavorable though it might be. The answer was "yes." But the "yes" was preceded by a small tirade aimed at those people, and God knows there were many of them, who came to that same office during the last thirty years, professing great love and understanding for this one-sixth of the world, and, after having been there, made a well paying profession out of being professional anti-Russian experts.

We answered that everything that we did not like we were going to speak of in Russia just as well as at home, but we were reporters and we were going to stay such.

We traveled around Russia. Our first stop was the Ukraine, where among the still-destroyed farms and cities our being Americans didn't seem to surprise or frighten the people at all. In the fields one day a little boy named Grisha ran up to his mother and said, "But look, the Americans are people just like us."

In the evenings around the big farmhouse tables food was prepared and toasts were proposed. The first one was usually to the memory of Franklin Roosevelt, and the last one was in hope that the people who were allies in the war against the German Fascists might remain allies.

Between these two toasts there were a great many questions. We soon realized that the Russian misinformation about the American people can only be equaled by our misinformation about them. There were very pointed questions taken out whole from yesterday's "Pravda" and "Izvestia." We patiently explained many things about our own people and we said: "You Russians do not despise any one more than one of your people who abroad makes his success by writing a book of revelations like 'I Was a Doorman at the Soviet Embassy.' We are not going to do anything like that here."

They understood that very well. Also, we often answered, when they spoke about the persecution of liberals, that to our knowledge there are no political prisoners in the United States yet. I am holding my fingers crossed.

The evenings broke up in great friendship, and if any word was mentioned more than any other one, that was "peace." Those people were destroyed and hurt much more than any that I have seen during my ten years of battlefields, and they hate war more than any one I ever talked to.

From Kiev we proceeded to Stalingrad. There we visited the famous tractor factory which was never conquered and which turned out tanks when the Germans were only a few hundred yards away. The same workers who defended that factory were turning out tractors today. The walls of the factory were still half-destroyed. There workers were still the same and they were still at war—a war for the production of agricultural tractors. Slogans were painted over every machine urging increasing effort.

This was without any question the best, the most positive picture of Russia, and this was the first one I was not allowed to photograph. One of our great misconceptions about the Russians is that they are the best propagandists in the world. Indubitably they are the worst.

From Stalingrad we went to Georgia, which the Germans never suceeded in reaching and which is one of the richest parts of Soviet Russia and maybe the whole world. There people were better dressed, laughed more and gave us the idea of what the Soviet Union may have been without the second world war.

Before leaving Georgia we had our first real official party, where all the writers, musicians, painters and dancers received us and the evening began with the usual toasts. The toasts grew shorter as the evening went on, and by about three in the morning we were all dancing Georgian dances in the middle of the floor, and my neighbor who had his arm around my shoulders made the best toast of all.

He told me what we all should do to politics. It is unprintable.

From there we returned to Moscow, and Moscow had a birthday. She was 800 years old. There were millions of electric bulbs and thousands of big pictures of Stalin, Lenin and a dozen other leaders on the walls of the buildings. The people of Moscow from daybreak till late in the night tramped around admiring the city, which they really love.

It was not only one of the celebrations. It was a coming back of a little prosperity in the air. The harvest was good. The price of bread was going down. "Next year we may have as good as in 1939," the people said. Maybe 1939 was ridiculous on American standards, but it was better for Moscow than it had been for 800 years.

Nu, shortly after we returned. And getting back to New York we find that the cold war is a very hot cold war. From behind the nylon curtains of the Stork Club the cholera is spreading in Egypt. The Moscow intellectuals from behind their rust-eaten iron curtain see potential spies and warmongers in every student of Russian literature at Columbia University.

We remember many little rooms in the farmhouses in Russia. They are very much alike—small, white-plastered rooms with handmade chairs and benches; on the walls homemade paper flowers. In

nearly every one there is an icon corner with its small religious picture canopied in homemade lace. And on another wall there is almost invariably another kind of icon—a homemade embroidered white cloth frames the photographs of the dead, the young men, the sons of the house and the fathers, the best they had, the strongest and the best educated, the best loved and most needed. The farm people are always a little quiet in this room.

We remember the farm engines and wagons driven by crippled men, and the legless children, the charred piles that were houses and the seamed faces of the old women, and the look of old hunger and fear in the eyes of the children.

We do not know who started this vicious and insane game of stupid accusation and violent criticism. It is not very important who started it. The important thing is: Who is going to stop it?

The people of Russia, in our little experience, want the same things our people do—food, shelter, security and the ability to raise and feed and educate their children in peace. And this is the really important thing. That is all.

I have made a speech.

Edward R. Murrow

Interrogator

MRS. REID: Our interrogator for the panel, "Report from Eastern Europe" will be Edward R. Murrow, whose broadcasts "This is London" for the Columbia Broadcasting System made him the best known and most influential American radio commentator of the War. He lived in its midst, flying to Vienna to report the Germans' arrival and witnessing the end in Czechoslovakia. Three times his London office was destroyed. He flew twenty sorties with United States and British pilots, sailed the channel on a mine-sweeper, lay in a London gutter to broadcast the sound of an air raid.

Following his return from nine years in England, he recently launched a constructive new program, "CBS Views the Press." It is a review and criticism of what newspapers have been doing during the preceding week. This makes him the ideal man to interrogate our reporters from Eastern Europe. Ed Murrow.

MR. MURROW: As used to be said in the South, it "pleasures" one broadcaster considerably to be able to raise a microphone in salute to one of the outstanding pieces of journalistic enterprise that I have seen since going home. Of course, those of us in broadcasting occasionally feel that print is rather archaic, but still interesting. They have not, of course, reached the point where they can give us

Report from Eastern Europe by Four Members of the New York Herald Tribune Staff. Joint authors of "Behind the Iron Curtain." Left to right, William Attwood, Paris Correspondent; Ned Russell, Chief, London Bureau; Russell Hill, Editorial Writer, Former Chief, Berlin Bureau and Walter Kerr, Chief, Paris Bureau.

murder mysteries with sound effects or singing commercials. I do feel quite seriously that the series that the Herald Tribune has done in "Behind the Iron Curtain" is one of the most significant pieces of journalism that I have seen.

But the file of documents I hold in my hand is not the script for this evening's performance. It is what was written and rejected by these four men after they had completed a two months' trip among eight countries bordering the Soviet Union. I first heard of this enterprise about two years ago while flying the Atlantic with Joe Barnes, the foreign editor of the Herald Tribune. He told me of his plan—to take a team of fast-moving, very curious correspondents, send them into an area, bring them back, have them refine and condense their findings, and then publish them in a series.

I thought at the time a lot of curious ideas have been thought up at an elevation of 20,000 feet in mid-Atlantic, and nothing will come of this. But it did. The Herald Tribune chose to send four able, experienced correspondents with great integrity to those eight countries bordering Russia for a period of two months. I say that the correspondents are both able and equipped with great integrity because I had for a number of years the privilege of working with, or rather against, them, and I know that as competition they are very considerable. I think I should introduce them to you: Walter Kerr, chief of the Paris Bureau; Ned Russell, chief of the London Bureau; Russell Hill, editorial writer and former chief of the Berlin Bureau, and William Attwood, the Paris correspondent.

After these men had completed their journey they came back to Paris and decided that in a long week end they could write their findings. They wrote for three days and three nights, and then the

arguments began. And it was like an international conference. They were trading paragraph for paragraph, arguing about this comma and that sentence. After a week's labor they had decided that they were practically finished, but concluded they would come back for just another three-hour session to polish it off.

Well, that session lasted twelve hours, throughout the entire night; they took a break for three hours, and then they went back and worked another eighteen hours. I should think that no series ever appearing in print had such concentrated attention in all details as did this one in the Herald Tribune.

I would like to talk at great length about the men, their records and their travel, but broadcasters have occasionally learned to keep silent, so I shall now start asking the questions, and I think I would like to address the first one to Bill Attwood. I would like to ask him what he thinks of this much used phrase "The Iron Curtain" as applied to the countries of eastern Europe?

MR. ATTWOOD: Well, as far as the north is concerned, we found the iron curtain fairly porous. We were able to get in without any trouble. Our visas were granted immediately, and once we were there people were helpful as they could possibly be. I remember in Warsaw seeing security policemen with machine guns outside public buildings, and I thought undoubtedly I'd have to produce all sorts of credentials and passes, but I didn't. As a matter of fact, the first identification I was asked for was when I got to American Headquarters in Vienna. I think, however, that the situation in the southern countries is an entirely different story, and I think Walter could probably tell us more about that.

MR. KERR: Yes, both Ned Russell and I had quite a different experience in the south. The farther south you go in eastern Europe, apparently the tougher it is. Down there, at least in three of the four states, you have to get Soviet military permission to travel. We got it for Hungary and Bulgaria with some delay but not much difficulty. In Romania neither of us got it, and we were faced for a period of about a week or ten days there with the decision as to whether we could go through with the whole project, or whether we had to abandon it because we couldn't get into Romania.

Finally Ned Russell got what I didn't get—he got a visa to get into Yugoslavia—and so I took a chance at the Romanian border, without permission, and managed to get through the border guards there through the kindness of one of them. That's how we got through those four countries.

MR. MURROW: What was your experience, Russell Hill?

MR. RUSSELL: I'd like to answer that first.

MR. MURROW: All right, Ned Russell. The argument starts already. It's been going on for months now.

MR. RUSSELL: I got into Hungary very easily and into Yugoslavia, but those two countries presented a new problem of whether we could get information in them. They presented both ends of the extreme. I spent twelve days in Belgrade and didn't see one official of the government. I saw one trade unionist, that was all. But in Hungary I could hardly keep away from the government officials. I saw everybody from the Deputy Prime Minister, the Communist boss that I wanted to see, down to newspaper men and very minor officials, and several members of the Cabinet. I got a lot of information, and they were all forthcoming.

MR. HILL: I think that in the term "Iron Curtain" there's more implied than just a question of whether you can get into a country and get information there. I think it implies that the area is itself behind an iron curtain, that Western ideas and culture can't penetrate behind it.

In that respect, too, we found big differences between the countries. In cities like Prague and Karkow and Zagreb, which had been under Western influence for a long time, you still felt that Western cultural condition there. And in Prague you can buy American and English newspapers and magazines, anything from Mr. Steinbeck's books to "Gone With the Wind." I suppose you could get "Forever Amber" if you wanted it.

MR. KERR: In Hungary, incidentally, you can buy Hungarian copies of General Marshall's last report as chief of staff, which we hadn't expected to find.

MR. MURROW: Now, Walter, tell me this. Did you find any set pattern or manner by which the Communists achieved power in eastern Europe? What's the technique? What happens first?

MR. KERR: Just go back once to what Russell told you a while ago, that all these countries are different in one way or another. In some of them the Communists are very strong; in some others they are relatively weak, though in every place their strength is greater than their numbers would seem to warrant. I'm going to answer your question by referring to only two countries—Romania and Bulgaria.

During the summer, while Ned Russell and I were in the Balkans, the Communists gave the final coup de grace to their oppo-

sition when they finally outlawed the political parties, arrested the opposition leaders and killed off what little opposition press there was.

In those two countries the situation in the spring of this year was something like this: Since the war the Communists had taken over the control of the Ministry of the Interior, which in those countries gives the control of the police forces. It's like the Department of Justice in a Cabinet post. They also had the Minister of Justice, the man who is in charge of the courts, it's also a Cabinet post. They had either the Chief of Staff of the Army or a Communistic Minister of War. No Cabinet was composed entirely of Communists, but because the Cabinet approved the Communists, the people who went along with them did pretty much as the Communists wanted them to do. They also had a Parliament in which they controlled the majority of the votes and, what is even in many ways much more important, they had one Communistic censor who was very rough in handling the opposition press.

Then, through their control of courts and police system, they were able to prevent opposition parties from holding public meetings. In Bulgaria the opposition parties, which had polled 30 per cent of the votes a year ago this month, had not been allowed to meet until the time of the party's dissolution this spring.

MR. MURROW: Russell Hill, how did that pattern compare to the one you found in Finland?

MR. HILL: It isn't quite the same thing.

One point that might be made is that in the countries that had not known the Western type of democracy, the Communists found it a lot easier to get control. They found it easier to substitute a Communist dictatorship for a Fascist dictatorship than they did for a Western type of democracy—in Czechoslovakia, for instance, and it also applies to Finland. You found that many of the conditions which Walter Kerr has just listed, as being necessary for them to have complete control, didn't exist. They did control the Ministry of the Interior and thereby the police, but not the courts and unless you have both you don't have complete control, and in all those countries you had large opposition parties with real strength.

The Communists in Czechoslovakia were the strongest single party, and in Finland they were as strong as any other, but the combination of the other parties was stronger, and while they would co-operate with the Communists they were also vigilant to see that Communists didn't get control over them. I think that you'll find the battle shaping up there, particularly if the conflict between America and Russia gets worse; the pressure will be on the Communists to consolidate their control. I think that in that respect a

statement that was made to me by the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia is significant.

I asked him whether he thought that in the next elections the Communists would get an absolute majority, which would, of course, give them complete control. He said, "It is not only likely we will get an absolute majority, but it is necessary in the interests of the Czech state."

MR. MURROW: Well, Russell, I know this is a point that you fellows have argued about through many a night, and I don't know which one of you will want to try to answer it. But the question is this: What about the amount of terror, how many people are frightened?

MR. RUSSELL: Well, that's something we spent a lot of time on, and we tried to compare it from country to country. In some countries we found practically none, but in countries like Bulgaria and Romania it's very definitely there. We finally came to the conclusion that if a few people are terrorized, there is terror. You don't have to arrest all the population. You arrest a few—then the rest get the idea.

MR. MURROW: What did you find in Poland, Bill Attwood?

MR. ATTWOOD: Well, the impression that we did not want to give was that an entire country can be terrorized. For example, in Poland I met a business man in a department store in Krakow, and he kept telling me that he was terrorized by the secret police. As a matter of fact, we were sitting in a restaurant and he turned around and said, "Those two sons o' guns over there have been following me for the last two days." But he wasn't really terrorized. They were closing in to a certain extent, but it isn't terror in the sense that people are looking over their shoulders in many of these countries, certainly not in the northern countries.

MR. MURROW: Ned Russell, did you have something to add?

MR. RUSSELL: I met a banker in Hungary who still had his job—he's the vice president of a bank. He told me that he was frightened of a knock on the door at 3 o'clock in the morning, and the thing that frightened him was that he had given some money to one of the political parties to fight their campaign with. He knew that there were some Communists in the bank and they would find out that he had given the money to the party, and now he was waiting for this knock on the door. But it never seemed to come.

MR. MURROW: What about free speech?

MR. ATTWOOD: In the northern countries—say, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Austria—I'd say free speech is as complete as it is in this country. In fact, I would say that it would be safer—in terms of his job and his reputation—for a Czech to attack the Soviet Union than it would be for an American to defend it today. The story in the southern countries is probably different.

MR. RUSSELL: Well, it's certainly not safe in Bulgaria, or Romania, or Yugoslavia to go around attacking the governments, but in Hungary it's very much like the situation in the north. I was there during the election campaign, and they had hundreds of political meetings in a small country on one Sunday. They have a law in Hungary which says that if you say anything, whether true or false, that holds the government up to ridicule they can throw you in jail. But that's a law they don't seem to apply very much. They admit that they apply it in some cases, but obviously not in any sweeping fashion.

MR. MURROW: What about the church and freedom of worship, Attwood?

MR. ATTWOOD: We had a lot of trouble about phrasing the answer to that question. We finally decided that the people are free to worship as they please everywhere in eastern Europe. There's no interference with any one going to church to pray.

Politically, the influence of the church has been reduced, inasmuch as in some countries, notably Slovakia and Yugoslavia, the record of the church under Nazi occupation was not always good, somewhat understandably. But there is a complete freedom of worship. As far as the schools are concerned, the church schools have in many countries been abolished in favor of the government public schools.

I think it's interesting to note that in the state schools—in Poland this is—there's still compulsory religious education given by priests. I found that in Warsaw a number of the government people were rather angry about this; they thought that the American system was better, but they said the church was so powerful that they were unable to prevent it from instructing the children in what they considered to be a reactionary manner.

MR. KERR: I'm not quite satisfied with the explanation of freedom of speech nor press.

MR. MURROW: There we go.

MR. KERR: At least I have to point out that in both Romania and Bulgaria certainly neither of them exists as we understand them. In Bulgaria no opposition press at all is tolerated.

Ned Russell has told me that there is no opposition press in Yugoslavia. There is a small opposition press in Romania that is not allowed to print political articles, and in both Romania and Bulgaria there are very small opposition parties left. The major opposition parties have been banned, and the few parties left cannot hold public meetings. They can't hold private meetings of more than twenty-five persons in a room, and they of course are not allowed to distribute any pamphlets in the streets or put up any signs.

MR. MURROW: Did you find any free enterprise on your travels, free enterprise as we define it?

MR. RUSSELL: We found that there was private ownership but no free enterprise.

MR. MURROW: That requires a little explanation, doesn't it?

MR. RUSSELL: In Bulgaria, for example, which is a very tightly controlled state, 93 per cent of the national business is privately owned, but the government has set up what they call a supreme economic committee that lays down all kinds of rules on how to run your business—how many people you employ, what wages you pay, what profits you can earn and what you do with your profits. The result is that you don't have to nationalize or socialize the industry—you just run them through this curious medium.

MR. HILL: I think that's interesting because in all these countries there's enough of either government ownership or government control to permit the states to conduct economic planning. All of these countries have plans except for Romania—which is planning to have a plan—and within the area the planned economies are meshed together with a complicated system of trade agreements. They don't have dollars and they've got to conduct their trade on a more or less barter basis; at least some of them do. A country like Czechoslovakia still conducts more than half its trade with the West, but it's running into difficulties. Last year it got a considerable amount of help from U. N. R. R. A., but it has no more dollars and it's going to have to cut down on the raw materials that it imports and needs for its exports. It isn't able to modernize its plants, and Poland has the same problem. Its three-year plan depends entirely on its getting a loan of $600,000,000 from the World Bank. So all these countries in eastern Europe are facing pretty much the same problems that

France and England are in the sense that they're running into a dollar crisis. Even their planned economies don't make them completely immune from it.

MR. MURROW: Do you hear much talk of war in the Eastern countries?

MR. KERR: Yes, you certainly do; but you hear probably no more than you do in this country. I must say I've been shocked by the amount of it since I've been home in the last three days—the amount that you hear from cab drivers and other sources. Yes, there's a great deal of talk of war, but it's really a reflection of a fear of war more than anything else, and nobody in eastern Europe wants it, of course. Everyone is very nervous about relations between the Russians and ourselves, and afraid that maybe that might lead to war. Having been through war, having been overrun several times by both the Germans, and the Russians, they know what war means, and I'd say they're really terrified of it.

MR. MURROW: Do the rest of you agree with Water's estimate of that?

MR. RUSSELL: I'd like to point out that most of their fear of war comes from the fact that they read "Pravda" and they get their news about America from Tass.

MR. MURROW: When you speak about the news of America, what about news of America; how much information are they getting? Are we having an even break in this war of words that's going on?

MR. RUSSELL: We're coming out very much on the short end. Most of the news they get in their newspapers comes from Tass and "Pravda." All we can give them is through the Voice of America—which is pretty inadequate and not done very well—and through our little mimeographed news sheets that include the announcements from the State Department and some newspaper comments. Those are fairly good, but they don't reach the audience that wants to hear us.

MR. MURROW: Bill Attwood, what's your opinion about telling the American story?

MR. ATTWOOD: Specifically, for example, in Czechoslovakia our United States Information Service budget is $31,000 a year.

The British, who are supposed to be a nation that's broke at present, are spending $240,000 a year in Czechoslovakia on propaganda, because they seem to appreciate the importance of that sort of diplomacy. Evidently we don't.

MR. MURROW: They believe that ideas are important and we do not?

MR. ATTWOOD: The battle of ideas is the battle that's to be won right now.

MR. KERR: I want to point out that our government information service budget was cut last year, I believe, by more than 50 per cent. In Romania, where in August they had four Americans working in the information service, there are now two. Of course, one of the two they fired was the only man who spoke Romanian.

MR. MURROW: It is, I think, customary at sessions of this sort for the chairman or the interrogator to attempt to sum up the conversation or discussion. But I would hesitate to do so because all of these correspondents are good friends of mine, and they have argued so bitterly and at such length about their conclusions that I think I should ask one of them to give you what is the agreed summary. I think they worked all night on the two-and-a-half minutes that you will now hear from Walter Kerr.

MR. KERR: And I've got it written down, too. We have talked this over a great deal—how we could give an idea of where we can go and where we ought to go from here. We thought we'd begin by giving you just what we thought was the one big impression that we took out of eastern Europe.

It is this: that in eastern Europe, in the border countries on this side of the Soviet Union but outside of the Marshall plan, the differences are as great and as significant as the similarities.

This holds true for the extent of Communist power, for the weight of Russian influence, for the status of civil liberties, and for economic and social organization.

We wanted to make this clear in our answers to whatever questions you asked us tonight.

We felt that many Americans—and often American policy—tend to lose sight of the differences, to think of the area as a closely knit unit of police states, all dominated by Moscow.

But we did not find this to be so. Probably the reason why it seems to be—is the uneasiness felt in this country over Soviet-American relations. It is an uneasiness that mounts at times to a hysteria of fear, fear of a world divided against itself, fear of war.

In such an atmosphere everything is often regarded as all black or all white—in this case all red or all white. The soft, in-between colors—the grays—tend to disappear.

But we found so many differences in eastern Europe that we came to consider the grays.

To think of eastern Europe as an area where many countries are still part of our world, ready to trade with us and willing to get along with us.

It may be hard for them to do this until our relations with the Soviet Union improve.

This improvement does not depend on us alone, and it may be a long time coming.

One of the ways in which we can help to speed its coming is by learning—ourselves—to see and to understand these different shades of gray. More and more people in this part of the world, and we refer to real non-Communists, are coming to feel that a large measure of change is inevitable in their countries. We should be clear in our minds that we are not against all change, that we are not asking them to return to pre-war conditions which brought many of them little happiness.

We can also help by telling our story, the story of America, clearly and frequently, through an improved and enlarged United States Information Service, telling eastern Europeans what we believe in and what we hope to accomplish.

We have got a lot to say, and we should say it. That is one way to keep our millions of friends in that part of the world and to make many millions more.

MR. MURROW: Thank you very much, Walter Kerr. It's an excellent summary of what you've told us this evening. I would just like to add that as one reporter, I envy all four of these men, and if I can be bold enough to make a suggestion to the editors of the Herald Tribune, I would wish—I'm sure on your behalf—to suggest that they might make this at least an annual event, and that occasionally they could send such a team about this country in order to report this country to us.

Geoffrey Parsons, Jr.

Editor, European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune

Report from France

MRS. REID: Before we go on to our final speech, I want to introduce to you the Editor of the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune, who has just arrived by air. He gave harbor and welcome to these four wanderers in eastern Europe when they came back to Paris, and he was very close to their experience. In addition, I want you to know him because of his own work which has kept him informed on the interests of France and on everything that is being done there in connection with the Marshall idea.

This is Geoffrey Parsons, Jr.

MR. PARSONS: You must forgive me if I seem a little bit confused and bewildered. I got off a plane yesterday at La Guardia and landed on one of your meatless days, when you can eat only chicken livers, turkey hash, roast duck, calves' liver and a lot of other things that I always considered meat.

But this was just one more element to confuse an already bewildered mind. Since I landed in New York every one I run into

asks me: "What do the elections mean in France? Will De Gaulle take over, and how will he do it? What will the French Communists do? Will there be a revolution in France?"

I would like very much to be able to give you the answers to the questions, and so would the people of France. But they cannot tell you, because they do not know what the conditions in France are going to be this winter.

But as one who has been living in France since the liberation in 1944, I think I have a right to express certain feelings about the country, and for whatever they're worth, I'm very happy to give them to you.

To begin with, I think you ought to have a good deal of faith in western Europeans. Nowhere else in the world do you find people who think and act as we Americans do. You just can't find people who do it as much, and who have as much similarity, as you can in Europe. We've had over a hundred Congressmen in Europe this summer. Many of them have talked thoughtlessly about what they've seen in their rush trips through countries they know nothing about. And one, a very prominent one, said the French don't work, for example, after he had spent twenty-four hours in France.

Now, you've already heard Mr. Robert Marjolin tell you how the working week in France has been increased, with the agreement of French organized labor, to try to rebuild France. Or I could cite a couple of examples which you don't ordinarily hear. For example, the other day I was talking to an American who runs the French subsidiary of the American Radiator Company.

He said that before the war their French operations were the most efficient which the company has in the world—not only more efficient than their German operation, or their Swiss operation, or their Belgian operation, or their Italian operation, but more efficient also than their American operation.

I asked him how it was today. He said with the exception of one small department "we are now operating at 115 per cent of our pre-war efficiency." The French not working? Well, judge for yourself. Then there was the head of the international operation of the Eastman Kodak Company. He used to be an air general on General Spaatz's staff. After inspecting the Eastman Kodak plant in Paris last summer, he said, "I wish we could get the same production and efficiency in our plant in Rochester." Same story.

And French production generally, whenever they have the coal, is operating at the pre-war level. In Britain every industry except coal and cotton textiles is operating above pre-war levels.

And but for the freakish weather, terrible weather this year, France would need no help from us today. The winter freeze, which ruined the wheat crop, and this summer's drought, which hurt all

other crops, except the grapevines, have been disastrous. All over Europe ponds, wells, springs, streams have dried up for the first time in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. In bombed cities, all over western Europe, a fine dust hangs two stories high in the streets and gives rise to strange moods and a new crop of respiratory diseases.

And for the first time you hear the phrase "dust bowl" throughout Europe. This calamity of nature is something Frenchmen or Britishers, no matter how hard they work, can't overcome.

Some people say that if you don't help France, for example, the French will go Communist. This is sort of a blackmail argument which I feel is very unfair to the French. It is a little like a man standing on the railing of Brooklyn Bridge and threatening to jump in the river unless you lend him five bucks. If America does not help Europe through this truly terrible winter that faces it, I, for one, do not believe western Europe is automatically lost. People somehow manage to live. People somehow get along under any circumstances. The will to survive is a tremendous force.

But just because the people of western Europe might somehow be able to struggle through the winter and survive without turning to the political extreme which might eventually endanger American security is no reason, I'd say, for us to tell them to "go ahead and fight alone." On the contrary, it is more important than ever that we should do our part and try to accept our responsibility as a grown-up nation.

Harold E. Stassen

Former Governor of Minnesota

When Europe Staked America

MRS. REID: In closing tonight's program and the last session of the Forum, we are returning to America.

The final speaker is a man whose faith in people is equalled by a determined effort to develop positive responsibility in our country for intelligent co-operation with other countries, on whose help and welfare our nation is dependent. When former Governor Stassen returned home from his work with the Pacific fleet and was appointed delegate to the charter conference at San Francisco, he said, "It is as much my duty to take an assignment to work for a successful peace as to work for a successful war." It is just this that he has been doing ever since.

John Gunther in his latest book characterized the essence of this man with these words, "The diehards are always fearful of what applecarts he may upset. Nor will he go down the line for anybody except out of deep conviction. It's impossible for him to pretend."

Mr. Stassen has dug up valuable material about America's early history, that has poignant bearing on anything this country can do

now towards Europe's recovery. It presents a clinching argument for implementing the Marshall idea, because his mind is close to what people are thinking throughout the country. I am particularly happy to have him say the last words on our individual and collective sovereignty. Harold Stassen.

MR. STASSEN: The central question—"Is modern man slave or sovereign?"—presented by this, the sixteenth of these remarkable Forums conducted through the unusual genius and perseverence of Mrs. Helen Reid, of the New York Herald Tribune, is the fundamental query in the world today.

The same key question was overshadowing in its importance on this continent more than a century and a half ago during the founding of the United States of America.

Every citizen of our land today can well breathe a quiet prayer of thanks that the answer then given was that man in America was to be sovereign and hence free!

There are many parallels in the situation confronting America then and the problems facing Europe today. It is worth while to note these parallels.

After the victory in the war for independence, the thirteen struggling Colonies were left weak, heavily in debt, divided between themselves on many issues and desperately short of consumer goods. With courageous leadership and great determination, but not without internal dissension and days of darkness, they not only decided that man was to be free and sovereign but also to proceed in the extraordinary task of implementing that fundamental concept in definite political, economic, social and religious policies.

But with all their energy and desires, progress was very slow because of a desperate shortage of capital. The one source of capital in the world at that time was Europe. There was considerable opinion in Europe then that the new country was a bad risk, that it was too weak and unstable, that there was too much uncertainty on its Western frontiers, that there was too great a possibility of internal dissension. Gradually, however, the opposing view in Europe prevailed—that America was worth backing, that on a long-term basis investment here was sound, that the development of both markets and sources of materials was desirable.

Beginning in 1790, Europe staked America. Europe, principally France and England and Holland, sent consumer goods and extended the loans to pay for them. Europe furnished credit to the merchants of the infant United States for use in obtaining imports from other parts of the world. Europe began to provide capital for public-improvement projects in America. She sent over the major part of the money needed to build the Erie Canal in 1817, and in the succeed-

ing twenty years invested in American canals and railroads and other public improvements almost $100,000,000, which in terms of proportionate relationship would be the equivalent of $10,000,000,000 today.

In the Southern states funds were advanced to establish cotton planters' banks to finance the expansion of cotton crops. Extensive loans were sent over to Pennsylvania, Virginia, Louisiana, Ohio, Maryland, Mississippi, Alabama and Indiana. As a typical example, in 1839 more than one-half of the capital which had been borrowed by Alabama came from Europe.

Our early railroads, linking up the resources and the industries and the peoples of the struggling young nation emerging from the losses of the war, were built in a large part through funds furnished from abroad. These included the Camden & Amboy Railroad, the Wilmington & Raleigh, the Harrisburg & Lancaster and the Philadelphia & Reading, the small beginnings of the extensive rail lines of today.

In the late 1700s Dutch capital was invested in 3,500,000 acres in New York through the Holland Land Company, which played a large part in the development of great areas in this Empire State. British capital invested in and developed land in the State of Maine through the investment house of Alexander Baring. The opening of the mines, the development of early oil fields, the beginnings of textile and flour mills were each made possible in a large degree by financial advances from Europe. Many of our earliest insurance companies obtained the capital essential for their stability and their growth from Europe. Then, as large-scale enterprises developed and communications and telephones and steel and banking grew, a continued flow of capital from abroad made possible a more rapid expansion, a greater rise in our standard of living and a higher production for the benefit of all than could otherwise have been obtained.

There are some significant characteristics of this entire period when Europe staked America. The ventures did not all turn out successfully. When the price of cotton dropped in 1837 nine states defaulted on their bonds. In a number of instances early railroad and mining attempts failed and investors lost money. But, taken as a whole, it turned out to be not only an essential step for more rapid progress in America but also a very worth-while investment for Europe.

In nearly every instance the Europeans specifically selected the purposes for which they would send funds, and would not make general unconditional advances.

With their capital they sent engineers, technical assistance, machinery and advice, based upon their superior merchandising and business knowledge and experience.

They recognized the need of taking products from America and

of stimulating the flow of trade if their investments were to be sound and if progress on both continents was to be made.

The parallels today are so obvious that they almost need not be expressed.

Today it is Europe that has won at great cost its battle for liberation. Today it is Europe that is desperately in need of capital, goods, machinery and help. Today it is America who, by the grace of God and the valiant fighting of her armed forces, is untouched in its homeland by war. Today it is America that is the only source in all the world of substantial capital and major aid. Today it is the materialistic ideology of Communism rather than the older theories of the divine right of kings or of dictatorships which threatens the sovereignty and freedom of man. Today is the time for America to stake Europe.

I have a deep and abiding faith that man was meant to be sovereign and to be free. I have a firm conviction that man has a spiritual value, that he was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. But it is not enough simply to believe these principles unless they are intelligently implemented, courageously defended and vigorously advanced.

Man as a sovereign being cannot be timid or petty or selfish or evasive. Man is sovereign in America today and this nation of sovereign men must act in accordance with that status. America must keep herself powerful in a military sense and strong in its domestic economy with the essential harmony and balance between its elements for high production of the means of an enjoyable life. America must be generous, intelligent and timely in its aid to Europe—generous by extending aid on a scale adequate to lift the peoples from the dreary morass in which the destruction of war has left them, intelligent in extending with our aid, in all humility, sound counsel of priorities of investment, of methods of greater production, of opposition to centralized economies which will destroy the initiative of their people, of currency reform, and of the easier flow of goods between them, and of a program which will rapidly shift to private investment with joint efforts for production and success.

An essential part of the concept of sovereignty of man is a regard by one man for the human rights and dignity of another man. Man that is sovereign must exercise self-restraint and self-discipline. Man that is sovereign must give to the society in which he lives as well as take from it. And the society in which modern man lives is a world society. Recognition of this fundamental philosophy will in a large measure determine whether the remarkable scientific advances emanating from the mind of man will build or destroy.

If I sound a note of optimism tonight, it is based upon both my studies and my personal observations of the opinions and attitudes

and actions of the peoples across the length and breadth of this land and of Europe.

There is sound ground for concluding that America will stake the recovery of Europe, that America will keep her domestic economy strong without economic crashes and crises and with mounting production and steady improvement in its own darker spots. There is clear evidence that if the President will end his indecision and call a special session of the Congress, the majority of the Republicans in both Houses will join in prompt action to establish an American agency and make initial appropriations to carry out timely and practical aid.

I strongly urge that at his press conference with Congressional leaders tomorrow morning the President should announce the calling of a special session. Much more is involved than the question of whether the emergency funds of various kinds can last until Jan. 1 or Feb. 1. The most critical need is that we demonstrate to the world that this great land of the free will not dally or equivocate, but will move promptly and efficiently to establish a program and an agency to build Europe and thus lift the hopes and open the opportunities for the future freedom and well-being of men.

There is a wide basis for believing that Europe will respond and will move gradually in the direction of free economies and stable currencies and greater production.

Let us not be diverted by the vicious line of those who point to low production and who say that the people of Europe will not work. How hard would we be working if we had been on short rations for eight long years and if fuel and power and raw materials were desperately scarce? I say that if we move quickly to establish a sound and long-term program of rebuilding Europe dedicated to the future freedom of men so that the light of hope once again is plainly visible to the millions of our fellow men, the next five years will note an amazing emergence of liberty and of strength from the ruins of war.

There is a firm foundation for the judgment that the United Nations will be strengthened without the tragedy of a third world war.

There is a bright reason for hoping that in the years immediately ahead increasing millions of the men and women of the world will say by word and deed, "Man is sovereign—and he shall be free!"

Harry S. Truman

President of the United States

MRS. REID: Ever since the start of the Forum, with the exception of one year, it has been closed with a message from the President—regardless of whether he was a Democrat or Republican.

Beginning with 1945, the message has taken the form of a letter. Yesterday one arrived from the White House. It is addressed to me but it is meant for you. It says:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Oct. 21, 1947.

Dear Mrs. Reid:

Again it is my pleasure to salute the Herald Tribune Forum and to tell you what a splendid work I think it is doing.

In the coming weeks and months this country will be faced with some weighty and difficult decisions pertaining to Europe's economic problems. On these decisions will depend in large measure the future pattern of our relations with Europe and, indeed, with the world at large.

It is essential that in our judgments we cling to those things which are fundamental and do not permit ourselves to be diverted by things which are inconsequential or not to the point.

What are our fundamental aims with respect to the peoples of Europe? It is important that we identify these aims and hold them steadily before ourselves and before world opinion.

Our deepest aspiration is for a peaceful and stable world, a world in which all nations can enjoy freedom and security and can make their maximum contribution to the progress of civilization.

In the annals of this progress there are no more glorious pages than those written by the peoples of Europe. A great portion of our contemporary civilization takes its origin from their genius and their effort.

At present many of them have been brought low, in varying degrees, by the effects of a devastating war. In this condition they are unable to play their traditional part in world affairs. They are looking to us to assist them to overcome the weaknesses and difficulties with which they are afflicted.

There can be no doubt as to the interest of our people in

European recovery. There can never be a stable world until the peoples of Europe, who have so much to offer, are in a position to make their full contribution to world stability. And without that stability this nation cannot know full peace or full security.

But we must be very careful to see that the steps we take will really serve the end we have in view. We must face the fact that we alone cannot rehabilitate Europe, and that our efforts will be useful only if they are intended to supplement a sincere and effective effort of the Europeans to help themselves. We must be sure, moreover, that what we are undertaking to do is within the limits of our own strength and does not run counter to the health of our own economic life.

These questions deserve our most careful study. There could be nothing better designed to serve this purpose than forums like that conducted by the Herald Tribune. I welcome warmly the effort you are making, and am confident that its results will be fruitful and constructive.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Closing

MRS. REID: And now one last word to you. In the opening speech on Monday night John Winant put a question to us all. He asked if we were doing as much today for peace as we did for this country and civilization in the days of war. This struck deep. Can we do more as individuals, as workers in our communities, as citizens who are responsible for electing men and women to Congress? In Carl Sandburg's words, we hold sovereign power over the future.

My prayer is that we can all say with him, when the vote is taken—Man is on the way. Man will yet win—through The People, Yes.

Books by Speakers

THURMAN ARNOLD:
- The Symbols of Government
- The Folklore of Capitalism
- The Bottlenecks of Business
- Democracy and Free Enterprise

ROGER BALDWIN:
- Whose Revolution? (co-author)

ROBERT CAPA:
- Death in the Making (co-author)
- The Battle of Waterloo Road (co-author)
- Slightly Out of Focus

JOHN FOSTER DULLES:
- War, Peace and Change

RALPH E. FLANDERS:
- Taming Our Machinery
- Platform for America
- Toward Full Employment (co-author)

ERNEST GRUENING:
- Mexico and Its Heritage
- The Public Pays

RUSSELL HILL:
- Desert War
- Desert Conquest
- The Struggle for Germany

PAUL G. HOFFMAN:
- Seven Roads to Safety

IRVING M. IVES:
- The American Story of Labor Relations (director of publication)

ERIC A. JOHNSTON:
- America Unlimited

WALTER KERR:
- The Russian Army

JENNIE LEE:
Tomorrow Is a New Day
Our Ally—Russia
This Great Journey

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL:
T.V.A.: Democracy on the March

RALPH S. LINTON:
The Natural Culture of the Marquesas Islands
Use of Tobacco Among North American Indians
The Archeology of the Marquesas Islands
The Tamala—A Hill Tribe of Madagascar
The Study of Man, An Introduction
Acculturation in 7 American Indian Tribes
Cultural Background of Personality

DR. CHARLES MORRIS:
Six Theories of Mind
Foundations of the Theory of Signs
Paths of Life: Preface to a World Religion
Signs, Language and Behavior

EDWARD R. MURROW:
Channels of International Co-operation (with J. T. Shotwell)
This Is London

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR:
Does Civilization Need Religion?
Leaves from the Notebook of a Tamed Cynic
Moral Man and Immoral Society
Reflections on the End of an Era
An Interpretation of Christian Ethics
Beyond Tragedy
Christianity and Power Politics
The Nature and Destiny of Man
The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness
Discerning the Signs of the Times

CARL SANDBURG:
Chicago Poems
Corn Huskers
The Chicago Race Riots
Smoke and Steel
Slabs of the Sunburnt West
Rootabaga Stories
Rootabaga Pigeons
Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years
The American Songbag
Good Morning America
Steichen the Photographer
Potato Face

Early Moon
The People, Yes
Abraham Lincoln: The War Years
Storm Over the Land
Home Front Memo

JOHN STEINBECK:
Cup of Gold
Pastures of Heaven
To a God Unknown
Tortilla Flat
In Dubious Battle
Of Mice and Men
Red Pony
Grapes of Wrath
The Moon Is Down
Cannery Row
The Wayward Bus

ELIZABETH GRAY VINING:
Penn
Contributions of the Quakers
Fair Adventure
Adam of the Road
Sandy
Meggy Macintosh
Jane Hope
Beppy Marlowe
Young Walter Scott

BARBARA WARD:
The International Share-Out
Hitler's Route to Baghdad
Turkey

SUGGESTED READING ON THE 1947 THEME

Modern Man: Slave or Sovereign?

Compiled by Brentano's Inc.

New York

AMERICA'S PROBLEMS OF LIBERTY

A Guide to Alaska. *Merle Colby* (Macmillan)
Hawaii: The Forty-ninth State. *Blake Clark* (Doubleday)
Introducing Alaska. *J. B. Caldwell* (Putnam)
Our Nation's Capital: A Portrait in Pictures. *M. E. Browning* (Hastings House)
Our Hawaii. *Erna Fergusson* (Knopf)
Our Hidden Front. *William Gilman* (Reynal & Hitchcock)
Alaska and the Canadian Northwest. *Harold Griffin* (Norton)
Revolt in Paradise: The Social Revolution in Hawaii after Pearl Harbor. *Alexander MacDonald* (S. Daye)
Opportunity in Alaska. *George Sundborg* (Macmillan)
Washington: The Cinderella City. *William Stevens* (Dodd Mead)
Government and Liberty: The American System. *William Beard* (Halcyon House)
Americans One and All. *Edited by H. Shaw & Ruth Davis* (Harper)
Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean. *Paul Blanshard* (Macmillan)
The Individual, The State, and World Government. *A. C. Ewing* (Macmillan)
People and Power: A Study of Political Behavior in America. *Harvey Fergusson* (Morrow)
You're the Boss. *Edward J. Flynn* (Viking)
Our Civil Liberties. *Osmond K. Fraenkel* (Viking)
A Pattern of Politics. *August Heckscher* (Reynal & Hitchcock)
Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle. *William Ernest Hocking* (University of Chicago)
A Free and Responsible Press. *Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press* (University of Chicago)
Practical Applications of Democracy. *George B. de Huszar* (Harper)

Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy. *Andrew W. Lind* (Princeton)

The New Slavery. *Hoffman Nickerson* (Doubleday)

Universal Military Training. *Edward A. Fitzpatrick* (Whittlesey)

Report on the President's Commission on Civil Rights. U. S. Government Printing Office.

America's Future in the Pacific. *Symposium* (Rutgers)

SPIRITUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STRENGTH OF MAN

Modern Christian Revolutionaries: An Introduction to the Lives & Thoughts of Kierkegaard, Gill, Chesterton, C. F. Andrews, Berdyaev (Devin Adair)

A Popular History of Christian Education. *Clarence H. Benson* (Moody)

Slavery and Freedom. *Nicolas Berdyaev* (Scribner)

The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit. *Fred G. Bratton* (Scribner)

Toward a United Church. *William Adams Brown* (Scribner)

The Bible and the Common Reader. *Mary Ellen Chase* (Macmillan)

Human Destiny. *Lecomte du Noüy* (Longmans)

The Religions of Democracy. *Louis Finkelstein, J. Elliot Ross, William Adams Brown* (Devin Adair)

One God: The Ways We Worship Him. *Florence Mary Fitch* (Lothrop)

Their Search for God: Ways of Worship in the Orient. *Florence Mary Fitch* (Lothrop)

The World's Living Religions. *Robert E. Hume* (Scribner)

Peace of Mind. *Joshua Loth Liebman.* (Simon & Schuster)

Rediscovery of Morals. *Henry C. Link* (Dutton)

A Scientist's Approach to Religion. *Carl W. Miller* (Macmillan)

A Man's Reach: Some Choices Facing Youth Today. *Symposium* (Putnam)

Christianity: An Inquiry into Its Nature and Truth. *H. F. Rall* (Scribner)

Preface to Religion. *Fulton J. Sheen* (Kennedy)

Now to Live. *Ralph W. Sockman* (Abingdon)

Why I Am for the Church. *Charles P. Taft* (Farrar, Straus)

The Catholic Pattern. *Thomas F. Woodlock* (Simon & Schuster)

The Tree of Life. *Edited by Ruth Smith* (Viking)

Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism. *D. C. Holtom* (University of Chicago)

A Palestine Picture Book. *Photographs by Jakob Rosner* (Schocken)

Polish Jews: A Pictorial Record. *Roman Vishniac* (Schocken)
A Golden Treasury of Jewish Literature. *Leo Schwarz, editor* (Rinehart)
A History of the Jews. *Abram L. Sachar* (Knopf)
Jewish Contribution to Civilization. *Cecil Roth* (Harper)
This Is Judaism. *Ferdinand M. Isserman* (Willett Clark)
The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion. *Mordecai N. Kaplan* (Behrman House, Inc.)

THE FORCE OF FREE ECONOMY

America's Economic Supremacy. *Brooks Adams* (Harper)
Big Business in a Democracy. *James Truslow Adams* (Scribner)
The Divine Right of Capital. *C. E. Ayres* (Houghton Mifflin)
By Vote of the People. *Willis Ballinger* (Scribner)
The Angry Decade. *Leo Gurko* (Dodd Mead)
The Triumph of American Capitalism. *Louis M. Hacker* (Columbia)
International Monetary Cooperation. *G. N. Halm.* Chapel Hill (Whittlesey)
Economic Policy and Full Employment. *Alvin H. Hansen* (Whittlesey)
America's Role in the World Economy. *Alvin H. Hansen* (Norton)
Economics in One Lesson. *Henry Hazlitt* (Harper)
Or Forfeit Freedom. *Robert Wood Johnson* (Doubleday)
The Keynesian Revolution. *Lawrence R. Klein* (Macmillan)
The Concentration of Economic Power. *David Lynch* (Columbia)
Scientific Man vs. Power Politics. *Hans J. Morgenthau* (University of Chicago)
The American Individual Enterprise System: Its Nature, Evolution and Future. *National Association of Manufacturers* (McGraw) 2 volumes
The Limitist. *Fred I. Raymond* (Norton)
The Coming Crisis. *Fritz Sternberg* (John Day)
Saudi Arabia. *K. S. Twitchell* (Princeton)
The Managerial Revolution. *James Burnham* (John Day)

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

The Struggle for the World. *James Burnham* (John Day)
The European Cockpit. *William H. Chamberlin* (Macmillan)
Behind the Silken Curtain: A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy. *Bartley Crum* (Simon & Schuster)
Road to Reaction. *Herman Finer* (Little Brown)
Can Representative Government Do the Job? *Thomas K. Finletter* (Reynal & Hitchcock)

The Road to Serfdom. *Frederick A. Hayek* (University of Chicago)
Freedom and Order: Lessons from the War. *Eduard Heiman* (Scribner)
Persistent International Issues. *George de Huszar, editor* (Harper)
Nationalities and National Minorities. *Oscar Janowsky* (Macmillan)
Star Spangled Mikado: Japan Under American Occupation. *Frank Kelley & Cornelius Ryan* (McBride)
Russia: The Giant That Came Last. *Joshua Kunitz* (Dodd Mead)
The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations. *Ruth McMurray & Muna Lee* (Chapel Hill)
The Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath. *William H. McNeill* (Lippincott)
The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding. *F. S. C. Northrop* (Macmillan)
A Democratic Manifesto. *Emery Reves* (Random)
Nations and Peace. *I. A. Richards* (Simon & Schuster)
Governments and Politics Abroad. *Joseph S. Roucek, editor.* (Funk & Wagnall)
End of a Berlin Diary. *William L. Shirer* (Knopf)
The Hidden Damage. *James Stern* (Harcourt Brace)
The United States and the Near East. *E. A. Speiser* (Harvard)
Richer by Asia. *Edmond Taylor* (Houghton Mifflin)
Germany Bridge or Battleground. *James P. Warburg* (Harcourt)
States and Morals: A Study in Political Conflicts. *T. D. Weldon* (Whittlesey)
A Foreign Policy for the United States. *Quincy Wright* (University of Chicago)
Speaking Frankly. *James F. Byrnes* (Harper)

BOOKS OF RELATED INTEREST

The Human Frontier. *Roger John Williams* (Harcourt Brace)
Christ Stopped at Eboli. *Carlo Levi* (Farrar, Straus)
Am I My Brother's Keeper? *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy* (John Day)
Preface to Ethical Living. *Robert E. Fitch* (Association Press)
Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas. *Frank Tannenbaum* (Knopf)
From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. *John Hope Franklin* (Knopf)
Inside U. S. A. *John Gunther* (Harper)

THE SHAPING OF THE AMERICAN TRADITION. *Louis M. Hacker* (Columbia University) 2 volumes
THE TRADE OF NATIONS. *Michael A. Heilperin* (Knopf)
TREASURY FOR THE FREE WORLD. *Anthology of writings* (Arco)
MEET THE ARAB. *John Van Ess* (John Day)
ONE WORLD OR NONE. *A Report to the Public on the Full Meaning of the Atom Bomb* (McGraw)
THIS MAN TRUMAN. *Frank McNaughton & Walter Hehmeyer* (McGraw)
MARSHALL: CITIZEN SOLDIER. *William Frye* (Bobbs Merrill)
WORLD ON MY DOORSTEP: A Venture in International Living. *Harriet Eager Davis* (Simon & Schuster)
THIS IS MY STORY. *Louis Francis Budenz* (Whittlesey)
MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES. *Gustave Reese* (Norton)
GREGORIAN CHANT. *J. S. Van Waesberghe* (Continental Book Co.)

SPEAKERS AT NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUMS
1930–1947

	Forum Year
GRACE ABBOTT * Director, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor	1930
CARL WILLIAM ACKERMAN Dean of the Faculty, Columbia School of Journalism	1937
FRANKLIN P. ADAMS ("Information Please") Conductor of "The Conning Tower" in the "New York Post"	1940
HENRIETTA ADDITON Former Deputy Police Commissioner in Charge of Crime Prevention Bureau, New York City	1934
JOHN W. AIKEN Socialist Labor Party Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
JOHN F. AISO Native American of Japanese Ancestry, Veteran of World War II	1943
HAROLD AKS Conductor, The Margot Mayo Folk Singers	1947
LIEUTENANT DONALD B. ALDRICH Rector of the Church of the Ascension; Chaplains Corps, U.S.N.R.	1942
HENRY J. ALLEN Former Governor of Kansas; Editor, "Topeka State Journal"	1938
JAMES DEAN ALLEN Student, Columbia University School of Journalism	1938
MME. CLAUDE ALPHAND Singer	1945
MARIAN ANDERSON Concert Singer	1942
DR. META ANDERSON * Member, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection	1930
DR. BENJAMIN R. ANDREWS Associate Professor of Household Economics, Teachers College, Columbia University	1930
KATHERINE ANSLEY Executive Secretary of the American Home Economics Association	1936
H. J. ANSLINGER Federal Commissioner of Narcotics	1938
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG Editor, "Foreign Affairs"	1933 1939
LADY ARMSTRONG President, Ladies of Charity of the Roman Catholic Church	1938
THURMAN ARNOLD Assistant United States Attorney General	1938
Former Assistant United States Attorney	1947
MRS. VINCENT ASTOR Chairman, Advisory Committee on Women's Participation, New York World's Fair	1937
WILLIAM ATTWOOD Paris Correspondent, New York Herald Tribune	1947
ADELINE ATWATER Authority on Modern Art	1930
FRIEDRICH ERNST AUHAGEN Lecturer on German-American Relations	1937
DR. ROBERT FOX BACHER Associate of Bernard M. Baruch, United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
ROGER N. BALDWIN Director, American Civil Liberties Union	1947
JOHN BALFOUR British Minister at Washington	1945
ARTHUR A. BALLANTINE Former Under Secretary of the Treasury	1936
JOSEPH BARNES Foreign News Editor, New York Herald Tribune	1940
(Translating speech of Leon Jouhaux)	1946
STRINGFELLOW BARR President, St. John's College, Annapolis	1937
BRUCE BARTON Chairman of the Board, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn	1937

	Forum Year
BERNARD M. BARUCH	
Special Adviser to Director of War Mobilization	1944
United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
FRED BATE	
London Representative of the National Broadcasting Company	1940
WILLIAM LOREN BATT	
President, SKF Industries	1937
Deputy Commissioner of the Industrial Materials Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission	1940
EDWARD BAYNE	
Writer	1937
MRS. EDWARD BAYNE	1937
DR. STEPHEN FIELDING BAYNE	
Associate Superintendent in charge of Elementary Schools of New York City	1936
CHARLES A. BEARD	
Historian	1936
MAY LAMBERTON BECKER	
Editor, Children's Page, New York Herald Tribune "Books"	1932
MRS. WILLIAM A. BECKER	
President General, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution	1937
NORMAN BEL GEDDES	
Designer	1939
ROBERT BELLAIRE *	
Former Head of the United Press in Tokyo	1942
MRS. AUGUST BELMONT	
Chairman, Women's Division of the Emergency Relief Committee	1932
ALAN BEMROSE II OF DERBY	
Speaking for the British children here for the duration of the war	1940
WILLIAM BENTON	
Assistant Secretary of State	1945
DR. LUDWIG BERGSTRASSER	
President of Land-Hessen	1945
IRVING BERLIN	
Composer	1940
EDWARD L. BERNAYS	
Public Relations Counsel	1935
MAJOR GEORGE L. BERRY	
President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America	1947
GEORGES BIDAULT	
French Foreign Minister	1945
JONATHAN B. BINGHAM	
Student, Yale University Law School	1938
WILLIAM J. BINGHAM	
Director, Physical Education and Athletics, Harvard University	1938
VICE-ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. P. BLANDY	
Commander, Joint Task Force One	1946
DR. KATHARINE B. BLODGETT	
Discoverer of Invisible Glass, General Electric Company	1939
LIEUTENANT CHARLES G. BOLTE	
Chairman, American Veterans Committee	1944
EDWIN BORCHARD	
Professor of Law, Yale University	1937
MRS. SIDNEY BORG	
Chairman, New York World's Fair Advisory Committee on Welfare and Housing	1938
LIEUT. ALEXANDER BORISOV	
Officer of the Red Army	1943
THE HON. DAVID BOWES-LYON	
Head of British Political Warfare Mission in the United States	1942
GELINE MACDONALD BOWMAN *	
President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs	1934
CHARLES BOYER	
Motion Picture Actor	1942
MRS. GEORGE H. BRADFORD	
Second Vice President, National Federation of Catholic Alumnae	1936
ROBERT BRADFORD	
Republican Candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts	1944
MRS. NICHOLAS F. BRADY *	
Chairman, Board of Directors of the Girl Scouts of America	1933 1934
COLONEL HENRY C. BRECKINRIDGE	1933
Former Assistant Secretary of War	1934 1936

	Forum Year
Mrs. Arthur Brin President, National Council of Jewish Women	1937
J. Melville Broughton Governor of North Carolina	1944
Earl Browder Communist Party Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
Lewis H. Brown President, Johns-Manville Corporation	1943
Lieut. Colonel Mary-Agnes Brown U. S. Veterans Administration	1945
Pearl Buck Author	1934
Raymond Leslie Buell * President, Foreign Policy Association	1937
William C. Bullitt American Ambassador to France	1940
William A. M. Burden Special Aviation Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce	1942
T. A. Burton Art Director, New York Herald Tribune Magazine	1930
Dr. Vannevar Bush Director, Office of Scientific Research and Development and President, Carnegie Institution of Washington	1945
James F. Byrnes Senator from South Carolina	1939
Director of Economic Stabilization	1942
Secretary of State	1945
Dr. Richard C. Cabot * Professor of Clinical Medicine, Emeritus, Harvard Medical School	1938
Cy Caldwell Associate Editor, "Aero Digest"	1940
Sergeant William J. Caldwell Member, Planning Committee, American Veterans Committee	1944
Dr. Harold G. Campbell * Superintendent of Schools, New York City	1934
Robert Capa Special Correspondent, New York Herald Tribune, Moscow Bureau	1947
James B. Carey National Secretary, Congress of Industrial Organizations	1944
Floyd L. Carlisle * Chairman of the Board, Consolidated Edison Company of New York	1938
Dr. Neil Carothers Professor of Economics and Director of the College of Business Administration, Lehigh University	1933 1934 1935
Dean of the College of Business Administration, Lehigh University	1940
Dr. George Washington Carver * Professor of Chemistry at Tuskegee Institute	1939
Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver Professor Emeritus of Politics, Harvard University	1933
Richard Gardiner Casey Australian Minister to the United States	1940
William R. Castle, Jr. Former Under Secretary of State	1933
Carrie Chapman Catt * Chairman of Regional Conferences, National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War	1934
Captain Victor A. Cazalet * Member of Parliament	1937
Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase Chancellor of New York University	1933 1934
Major General Claire L. Chennault Former Commander, 14th Air Force in China and founder and organizer of the "Flying Tigers"	1945
Colby Chester Chairman of the Board, General Foods Corporation	1937
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek President of China	1942
Madam Chiang Kai-shek	1939
Liu Chieh Minister from China (Reading the message of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek)	1942
Dr. Harwood L. Childs Associate Professor of Politics, Princeton University	1935

	Forum Year
THEODORE CHRISTIANSON Representative and former Governor of Minnesota	1936
WINSTON CHURCHILL Prime Minister of Great Britain	1943
GROVER CLARK * Former Member of Faculty, National University of Peking; Chairman, Round Table on the Far East, University of Virginia Institute of Politics	1935
TOM C. CLARK Attorney General of the United States	1946
MRS. E. SINCLAIR CLAYTON President, Canal Zone Women's Club	1934
COLONEL WARREN J. CLEAR Member, General Staff Corps	1944
RUTH CLIFTON Originator of the Moline Plan	1944
MARY G. CLOSE Student, New York University	1933
JACQUELINE COCHRAN Director, Women's Airforce Service Pilots	1943
CAPT. JOSEPH WOODY COCHRAN United States Army Air Forces	1943
D. LEIGH COLVIN Prohibition Party Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
MRS. WALTER S. COMLY Chairman, Board of Trustees, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1933
DR. ARTHUR H. COMPTON Professor of Physics, University of Chicago	1935 1939
DR. KARL T. COMPTON President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1947
DR. JAMES BRYANT CONANT President, Harvard University	1939
DR. COLE COOLIDGE Assistant Chemical Director, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.	1944
HARVEY WILEY CORBETT Chairman, Architectural Commission, Chicago World's Fair Fellow, American Institute of Architects	1934
NORMAN CORDON Bass-Barytone, Metropolitan Opera	1942
PAUL CORNELL President, Romford School for Boys	1938
ROYAL CORTISSOZ Art Editor of the New York Herald Tribune Lecturer on Art	1934 1935
NORMAN CORWIN Radio Writer and Producer	1945
RICHARD W. COYNE War Finance Division, Treasury Department	1945
SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons	1942
HAROLD CROSS Professor of Journalism, Columbia University	1937
RICHARD H. S. CROSSMAN, M.P. Assistant Editor, "The New Statesman and Nation"	1946
HOMER S. CUMMINGS Attorney General of the United States	1934
EVE CURIE Writer and Lecturer	1940
MADAME MARIE CURIE * Discoverer of Radium	1933
DR. ALLAN ROY DAFOE * Physician to the Dionne Quintuplets	1939
DR. WALTER DAMROSCH Composer and Orchestra Director	1932
CAPTAIN UGO V. D'ANNUNZIO * Italian Army Aviator, World War I	1937
H. MAURICE DARLING Chairman, National Interfraternity Conference	1937
MRS. PRESTON DAVIE Former Chairman of Finance Committee, Republican Party	1934
ELSPETH DAVIES Instructor at Barnard College	1939
CARLOS DAVILA Former Chilean Ambassador to the United States	1939

	Forum Year
Dwight F. Davis *	
Former Governor General of the Philippines; donor of the Davis Tennis Cup	1938
Ellabelle Davis	
Concert Singer	1945
Elmer Davis	
Director of the Office of War Information	1942
Dr. Harvey N. Davis	
President, Stevens Institute of Technology	1940
Norman H. Davis *	
American Ambassador at Large	1933
Eloise Davison	
Director, Home Economics, Herald Tribune Home Institute	1936
Major General John R. Deane	
Head of United States Military Mission to the Soviet Union	1945
Guerin de Beaumont	
Agent in New York for the French Committee of National Liberation	1943
General Charles de Gaulle	
President, French Committee of National Liberation	1943
Dr. Paul de Kruif	
Author	1943
Gontran de Poncins	
Author	1945
Thomas E. Dewey	
Special Prosecutor in the Investigation of Organized Crime for the County of New York	1937
Governor of New York State	1943
	1944
Mrs. LaFell Dickinson	
Vice President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1938
President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1944
	1946
Martin Dies	
Representative in Congress from Texas; Chairman of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities	1938
Anthony J. Dimond	
Alaskan Delegate to Congress	1940
Walt Disney	
Motion Picture Producer	1944
Dr. Harold W. Dodds	
President, Princeton University	1935
Colonel William J. Donovan	1930
Former Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States	1932 1940
Helen Gahagan Douglas	
Democratic Candidate for Representative from California	1944
Lewis W. Douglas	
Former United States Director of the Budget	1935
Principal and Vice Chancellor of McGill University and President-Elect of the Mutual Life Insurance Company	1939
William O. Douglas	
Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission	1938
Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court	1946
Dr. Warren F. Draper	
Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service	1935
Dr. Samuel S. Drury *	
Rector of St. Paul's School	1933
Dr. Rene J. Dubos	
Member, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research	1944
Philip Duey	
Barytone	1937
Mary C. Duffy	
Supreme Regent of the Catholic Daughters of America	1935 1937
John Foster Dulles	
United States Delegate to the United Nations Assembly	1947
Saidie Orr Dunbar	
President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs	1939
Madame Paul Dupuy	
French Editor and Publisher	1934
Clarence A. Dykstra	
President, University of Wisconsin	1939
Corporal Kazimierz Dziedzioch	
Soldier of Poland	1942
Clyde Eagleton	
Professor of Government, New York University	1937
Amelia Earhart *	
Aviatrix	1934

	Forum Year
George H. Earle	
Governor of Pennsylvania	1935
Walter Prichard Eaton	
Associate Professor of Playwriting, Yale University	1934
Ferdinand Eberstadt	
Former Vice-Chairman, War Production Board	1944
Associate of Bernard M. Baruch, United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
Anthony Eden	
British Foreign Secretary	1943
Charles Edison	
Acting Secretary of the Navy	1939
Dr. Irwin Edman	
Associate Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University	1932
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University	1933
Leo Egan	
New York Herald Tribune News Commentator (Reading the message of Dr. Ludwig Bergstrasser)	1945
General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower	1944
Chairman, Allied Control Commission	1945
Chief of Staff, United States Army	1946
Major George Fielding Eliot	
War Analyst and Special Writer for the New York Herald Tribune	1939
Dr. Edward C. Elliott	
President, Purdue University and Head of Purdue Housing Research Foundation	1934 1936
Harriet Elliott *	
Director of the Consumer Division of the National Defense Advisory Committee	1940
Huger Elliott	
Director of Educational Work, Metropolitan Museum of Art	1932
Dr. William Yandell Elliott	
Professor of History and Chairman of the Department of Government, Harvard University	1935
Mrs. Henry G. Ellis	
Third Vice President of State Federation of Women's Clubs of Connecticut	1934
Joseph B. Ely	
Governor of Massachusetts	1934
Dewitt M. Emery	
President, National Small Business Men's Association	1938
Dr. John Erskine	1930
President, Juilliard Foundation	1933
Author	1935
Dr. Herbert V. Evatt	
Australian Attorney General and Minister of State for External Affairs	1945
Clifton Fadiman ("Information Please")	
Literary Critic of "The New Yorker"	1934 1940
Benjamin F. Fairless	
President, United States Steel Corporation	1947
James A. Farley	
Chairman, Democratic National Committee	1936
Thomas F. Farrell	
Associate of Bernard M. Baruch, United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
Joseph R. Farrington	
Delegate to Congress from Hawaii	1947
Joseph C. Fennelly	
President, National Youth Movement	1934
Dr. John H. Finley *	
Editor, "The New York Times"	1937
Lieutenant Finn	
Soldier of Norway	1942
Dr. Morris Fishbein	
Editor, Journal of the American Medical Association	1938
Bernice Fitz-Gibbon	
Advertising Director, John Wanamaker	1937
Ralph E. Flanders	
Senator from Vermont	1947
Lynn Fontanne	
Actress	1940
James Forrestal	
Under Secretary of the Navy	1943
Secretary of Defense	1947
Dr. Glenn Frank *	1934
President, University of Wisconsin	1935

	Forum Year
Leon Fraser * President, First National Bank of New York	1943
C. J. Friedrich Professor of Government, Harvard University; Author	1939
James William Fulbright Representative from Arkansas	1944
Dr. George Gallup Director, American Institute of Public Opinion	1937
Lewis Gannett Editorial Writer and Book Reviewer, New York Herald Tribune	1930 1936
Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner Vice Principal and Professor of Economics at Fourah Bay College, West Africa	1946
Greer Garson Motion Picture Actress	1943
Bernard Gaston-Cherau Assistant Director of the French Press and Information Service (Reading the message of Georges Bidault)	1945
Dr. Christian Gauss Dean of College, Princeton University	1943
Lou Gehrig * First Baseman of the New York Yankees	1938
Jacques Gérard Tenor, Metropolitan Opera	1945
Colonel Adelno Gibson Chemical Warfare Officer of the 2nd Corps Area	1939
Wing Commander Guy P. Gibson * Royal Air Force	1943
John W. Gibson Assistant Secretary of Labor	1947
Dr. Harry David Gideonse President, Brooklyn College	1939
Dr. Lillian N. Gilbreth Consulting Engineer	1930 1932 1934 1935 1936
Dr. Virginia C. Gildersleeve Dean of Barnard College	1932 1933
Jean Giraudoux * French General Commissioner of Information	1939
Harry L. Goldman Pharmacist's Mate First Class, U.S.N.	1943
Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman First Vice President, National Council of Jewish Women President, National Council of Jewish Women	1936 1938
Dr. Lyle D. Goodhue Research Chemist, Department of Agriculture	1943
Philip L. Graham Publisher, "The Washington Post"	1947
Elsa Graves Steel Worker and Chairman, National Industrial Council of the Young Women's Christian Association	1944
James Frederick Green Chairman, Intercollegiate Disarmament Council	1933
Dr. Menas S. Gregory * Professor of Psychiatry, New York University, College of Medicine; Founder and Consultant of the Psychiatric Department of Bellevue Hospital	1935
Mrs. Thomas Grimley President, New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs	1933 1934
Dr. Karl Gruber Foreign Minister of Austria	1946
Dr. Ruth Gruber Field Representative, Department of the Interior	1943
Ernest Gruening Governor of Alaska	1947
Senora Ana Rosa de Martinez Guerrero Chairman, Inter-American Commission of Women	1942
Harry F. Guggenheim Former President, Daniel Guggenheim Fund for Promotion of Aeronautics and Member of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	1936
General Allen Wyant Gullion * Provost Marshal General, United States Army	1942
Dr. Luther Gulick Director, Institute of Public Administration; Member, President's Committee on Administrative Management	1937

	Forum Year
PAUL HAGEN	
Research Director, American Friends of German Freedom; Author	1942
LORD HALIFAX	
British Foreign Secretary	1938
JOHN D. M. HAMILTON	
Chairman, Republican National Committee	1936
MARY AGNES HAMILTON	
Former Labor Member of Parliament from Lancashire, England	1942
MRS. RICHARD J. HAMILTON *	
President, State Federation of Pennsylvania Women	1934
JOHN M. HANCOCK	
Associate of Bernard M. Baruch, United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
JOHN W. HANES	
Under Secretary of the Treasury	1939
ROBERT EMMET HANNEGAN	
Postmaster General (Reading the message of President Truman)	1945
WILLIAM HARD	1932
Radio Political Correspondent	1933
Journalist	1937
FRANCIS S. HARMON	
Secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A.	1933
W. AVERELL HARRIMAN	
Secretary of Commerce of the United States	1946
OLIVER HARRINGTON	
Public Relations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Artist and War Correspondent	1946
WILLIAM E. HASKELL, JR.	
Assistant to the President, New York Herald Tribune	1930
CAROLINE HASLETT	
Director, British Electric Association for Women	1936
HELEN HAYES	
Actress	1935
ROLAND HAYES	
Concert Singer	1935
WILL H. HAYS	
President, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America; former Postmaster General	1938
RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON	
President, International Disarmament Conference at Geneva	1933
LEON HENDERSON	
Director, Prices Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission	1940
ROY F. HENDRICKSON	
Director, Food Distribution Administration, Department of Agriculture	1943
KATHARINE HEPBURN	
Actress	1938
JOHN HERSEY	
War Correspondent and Author	1945
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER	
Representative from Massachusetts	1944
STANLEY HIGH	
Writer and Lecturer	1939
RUSSELL HILL	
Editorial Writer, New York Herald Tribune	1947
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN H. HILLDRING	
Director of Civil Affairs Division, War Department	1945
FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES	
Chairman, National Women's Party	1936
SIDNEY HILLMAN *	
Director, Labor Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission	1940
ROBERT H. HINCKLEY	
Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Authority	1939
SIR SAMUEL HOARE, G.B.E., C.M.G.	
British Foreign Secretary	1935
FRED K. HOEHLER	
Director of the Division on Displaced Persons, U.N.R.R.A.	1945
PAUL G. HOFFMAN	
President, Studebaker Corporation and of the Automotive Safety Foundation	1939
Chairman, Committee for Economic Development	1943 1947
DR. J. PETER HOGUET *	
Administrative Assistant to the President, New York World's Fair	1938

	Forum Year
A. R. Holcombe *	
Managing Editor, New York Herald Tribune	1930
Charles R. Hook	
President, American Rolling Mill Company; President, National Association of Manufacturers	1938
George M. V. Hook	
Chairman, Middletown, Ohio, Citizens Committee	1946
Sidney Hook	
Chairman, Department of Philosophy, New York University	1939
Herbert Hoover	
President of the United States	1932
Former President of the United States	1936 1938
J. Edgar Hoover	
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation	1937 1939
Ernest Martin Hopkins	
President, Dartmouth College	1942
Dr. Bruce C. Hopper	
Former Russian Observer for the Bureau of International Research, Harvard University; Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University	1935
Hartley Howe	
Son of Louis McHenry Howe, confidential adviser and secretary to President Roosevelt	1933
Julius Huehn	
Barytone, Metropolitan Opera	1940
Cordell Hull	
Secretary of State	1935
Harry Edward Hull *	
Commissioner General of Immigration	1930
Julian Hunt	
Achitectural Designer	1937
Fannie Hurst	
Author	1932
Lieut. Comdr. Charles H. Hutchins	
Commander of the Destroyer Borie	1943
Dr. Robert M. Hutchins	
President, University of Chicago	1938
Graham Hutton	
Assistant Editor, "The Economist," London	1937

	Forum Year
Harold L. Ickes	
Former Secretary of the Interior, Interrogator, Panel Discussion with Bernard M. Baruch and his associates	1946
Lord Inverchapel	
British Ambassador to the United States	1946
Will Irwin	
Newspaper Man, Editor and Author	1934
M. A. Hassan Ispahani	
Personal Representative of M. A. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League	1946
Vittorio Ivella	
Cultural Attaché of the Italian Embassy	1945
Irving M. Ives	
Senator from New York	1947
Julia K. Jaffray *	
Secretary of the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor	1934
Edmond Jaspar	
Secretary General of the Customs Union among Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg	1947
William Martin Jeffers	
National Rubber Director	1942
Col. Walter S. Jensen	
Deputy Air Surgeon of the Army Air Forces Medical Corps	1943
Dr. Philip C. Jessup	
Professor of International Law, Author	1935
Assistant Director, School of Training in International Administration, Columbia University	1942
Edward Johnson	
General Manager of the Metropolitan Opera	1935
George E. Q. Johnson	
Former United States District Attorney at Chicago, Prosecutor of Al Capone	1935
General Hugh S. Johnson *	
Former N.R.A. Administrator; Political Commentator for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers	1937
Colonel Louis A. Johnson	
Assistant Secretary of War	1939

	Forum Year
ERIC A. JOHNSTON	
President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States	1942
President, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.	1947
BASSETT JONES	
Illumination Consultant to the New York World's Fair	1938
FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE	
Son-in-law of Madame Curie, Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry	1937
IRENE JOLIOT-CURIE	
Daughter of Madame Curie; Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry	1937
STARR WEST JONES	
Actor-Farmer	1937
LEON JOUHAUX	
Secretary General, Confédération Générale du Travail, and Delegate of France to the United Nations	1946
DR. WALTER H. JUDD	
Representative from Minnesota	1943
HENRY J. KAISER	
President, Henry J. Kaiser Company	1942 1944
JAN KARSKI	
Representative of the Polish Underground	1944
LIEUT. COMDR. ROBERT B. KELLY	
Commanding Officer PT Boat 34	1942
DR. FOSTER KENNEDY	
Professor of Neurology at Cornell University Medical College	1939
FRANK KENT	
Political Commentator and Vice President "The Baltimore Sun"	1937
WALTER KERR	
Chief, New York Herald Tribune, Paris Bureau	1947
JOHN KIERAN ("Information Please")	
Sports Columnist "The New York Times"	1940
DR. JOHN A. KILLIAN	
Director, Killian Research Laboratory	1936
ELLEN EVA KING	
Freshman, Sarah Lawrence College	1938
DR. STANLEY KING	
President, Amherst College	1934
ALEXANDER KIPNIS	
Bass, Metropolitan Opera	1945
W. C. KIRKPATRICK	
President, Group Health Association, Washington, D. C.	1938
DOROTHY KIRSTEN	
Lyric Soprano, Chicago Opera Company	1944
ELISABETH KNAUST	
Former Employee of the German Propaganda Ministry	1939
COLONEL FRANK KNOX *	
Publisher, "Chicago Daily News"	1935
Secretary of the Navy	1940
ROBERT D. KOHN	
Chairman, Committee on Theme, New York World's Fair	1938
GENERAL WALTER G. KRIVITSKY *	
Formerly of the Soviet Military Intelligence	1939
J. A. KRUG	
Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R. (inactive), and Chairman, War Production Board	1944
CHARLES KULLMAN	
Tenor, Metropolitan Opera	1937
SERGEANT BEN KUROKI	
Nisei Airman	1945
DR. CARL E. LADD *	
Dean, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University	1934
VICTOR LADEROUTE	
French-Canadian Tenor	1944
ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE	
Senator from Wisconsin	1934
FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA *	
Mayor, New York City	1944
Director General, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration	1946
MILLARD LAMPELL	
Author of "Morning Star," a cantata on the Forum theme	1946
ALFRED M. LANDON	
Republican Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
DR. IRVING LANGMUIR	
Associate Director, General Electric Laboratories	1943
ESTHER EVERETT LAPE	
Member-in-Charge of the American Foundation Studies in Government	1938

	Forum Year
Francis Marion Law Former President, American Bankers Association	1936
Leonard A. Lawson Professor of International Relations, Hobart College	1937
Roberta Campbell Lawson *	1935
President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1936 1937
Jennie Lee Member of Parliament	1947
William Lemke Union Party Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
Leopold III King of the Belgians	1939
Sean Lester Secretary General, League of Nations	1946
John L. Lewis Chairman, Committee for Industrial Organization	1938
Mary Lewis Vice President, Best & Company	1937
Dr. William Mather Lewis * President, Lafayette College	1943
Sir Willmott H. Lewis Washington Correspondent for the London "Times"	1934
Jonas Lie * President, National Academy of Design	1935
David E. Lilienthal Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission	1947
Dr. Ralph S. Linton Sterling Professor of Anthropology, Yale University	1947
Walter Lippmann	1932
Author; Special Writer for the New York Herald Tribune	1933 1938 1940 1943 1946
Colonel C. Y. Liu Executive Officer, Chinese Aeronautic Commission	1943
Dame Adelaide Livingstone (Reading the message of Madam Marie Curie)	1933
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. Senator from Massachusetts	1939
Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein Visiting Lecturer of the Carnegie Endowment	1942
Dr. Perrin H. Long Associate Professor of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University	1939
Mrs. Oswald B. Lord Chairman, Women's Activities, National War Fund	1944
Dr. Irving Lorge Research Associate, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University	1935
Marquess of Lothian * Secretary of the British Mission to the Peace Conference	1934
British Ambassador to the United States	1939
Nancy Harkness Love Chief, Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron	1942
Clare Boothe Luce Playwright and Author	1940
Congresswoman-Elect from Connecticut	1942
Representative from Connecticut	1944
Louis Ludlow Representative from Indiana	1938
Alfred Lunt Actor	1940
Major General Frank R. McCoy Soldier—Diplomat	1938
George McCullagh President and Publisher, "The Globe and Mail," Toronto	1944
James J. McEntee Acting Director of the C.C.C.	1937
Craig McGeachy First Secretary of the British Embassy	1942
William M. McGovern Commander, U.S.N.R. (inactive), formerly with the Joint Chiefs of Staff	1945
Dr. Kathryn McHale Director, American Association of University Women	1935
Jasper P. McLevy Mayor, Bridgeport, Conn.	1939
Wheeler McMillen Editor, "The Country Home Magazine"	1937

	Forum Year
HECTOR MCNEIL	
British Minister of State	1947
PAUL V. MCNUTT	
Governor of Indiana	1934
Federal Security Administrator	1939
ALVAN MACAULEY	
President, Automobile Manufacturers Association	1936
AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK	
Commissioner of Correction, New York City	1934
MRS. MALCOLM PARKER MACCOY	
President, New York City Federation of Women's Clubs	1933 1934
ANGUS L. MACDONALD	
Canadian Defense Minister for Naval Affairs	1940
ISHBEL MACDONALD	
Daughter of Ramsay MacDonald, former Prime Minister of Great Britain	1933
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH	1940
Librarian of Congress	1944
Deputy Chairman, United States Delegation to the General Conference of U. N. E. S. C. O.	1946
DEANE W. MALOTT	
Associate Professor of Business, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University	1934
ROUBEN MAMOULIAN	
Motion Picture Director	1935
ROBERT MARJOLIN	
Deputy Commissioner General, Plan of Modernization and Equipment (France)	1947
ALBERT E. MARSHALL	
Former President, American Institute of Chemical Engineers	1938
GENERAL OF THE ARMY GEORGE C. MARSHALL	
Chief of Staff, United States Army	1945
Secretary of State	1947
HOMER MARTIN	
President, United Automobile Workers of America	1937
WILLIAM MCC. MARTIN, JR.	
President, New York Stock Exchange	1938
ABBÉ MAILLET	
Director, Little Singers of Paris	1947
JAN G. MASARYK	
Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia	1946
RAYMOND MASSEY	
Actor	1944
VINCENT MASSEY	
Former Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Canada to the United States	1934
SOMERSET MAUGHAM	
Author	1940
WILLIAM HENRY MAULDIN	
Former S/Sgt. with "Stars and Stripes," Mediterranean Edition; Author and Cartoonist	1945
DR. ELIZABETH MAY	
Research Associate in Social Studies, American Association of University Women	1936
DOROTHY MAYNOR	
Concert Singer	1940 1947
MARGOT MAYO	
Director, The Margot Mayo Folk Singers	1947
PAUL MAZUR	
Author, Economist, and Member of the firm of Lehman Brothers	1939
BRIEN MCMAHON	
U.S. Senator from Connecticut	1946
MRS. ROBERT G. MEAD *	
Chairman, Girl Scout Federation of Greater New York	1932
MRS. WILLIAM BROWN MELONEY *	
Editor, "This Week" Magazine	1930-1942
ANGELICA MENDOZA	
Professor of Latin American Culture and Spanish Language at Sarah Lawrence College	1944
DR. KARL MENNINGER	
Chief of Staff, Menninger Clinic, Topeka, Kansas	1938
V. K. KRISHNA MENON	
Personal Representative of the Vice President of the Interim Government of India and Minister for External Affairs—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru	1946
CORD MEYER, JR.	
Lieutenant, U. S. Marine Corps, retired, and Aide to Capt. Harold E. Stassen at San Francisco	1945
EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY	
Pulitzer Prize Poet	1939

	Forum Year
Miss Frieda Miller	
(Reading the message of Frances Perkins)	1933
Dr. Robert A. Millikan	
Chairman, Executive Council, California Institute of Technology	1938
Walter Millis	
Author; Editorial Writer for the New York Herald Tribune	1938 1943
Ogden L. Mills *	
Former Secretary of the Treasury	1935
Raymond Moley	
Professor of Public Law at Columbia University	1938
Sp. 2/c Jeanne Monroe	
Conductor, Waves Singing Platoon	1944
Robert Montgomery	
Motion Picture Actor	1940
Narrator, "Morning Star," cantata on the Forum theme	1946
Helen Wills Moody	
Former Women's Amateur Tennis Champion of the World	1933
Mrs. Charles G. Moore	
President, New York State Federation of Women's Clubs	1933 1934
Douglas Moore	
Professor of Music, Columbia University	1940
Helen Clarke Moore	
Conductor, Senior Choral Ensemble, High School of Music and Art of New York City	1944
Robert J. Moore *	
Manager, Development Laboratories, The Bakelite Corporation	1942
Carlyle W. Morgan	
Assistant Chief Editorial Writer, "The Christian Science Monitor"	1946
Nina Morgana	
Soprano, Metropolitan Opera	1933
Dr. Charles Morris	
Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago	1947
Dr. Philip Morrison	
Assistant Professor of Physics, Cornell University	1946
Dean Margaret S. Morriss	
President, American Association of University Women	1937
Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow	
Chairman of the New York Women's Division of the U.S.O.	1942
Helen Morton	
Chairman, United Student Peace Committee	1937
Robert Moses	
Commissioner of Parks, New York City	1938 1943
Lyn Murray	
Director, The Lyn Murray Singers	1946
Edward R. Murrow	
Radio News Commentator	1947
Dr. William Starr Myers	
Professor of Politics, Princeton University	1933
Lieutenant Oliver F. Naquin	
Commander of the Submarine Squalus	1939
Begum Shah Nawaz	
Parliamentary Secretary of the Minister for Education and Public Health in the Punjab	1942
Dr. William Allan Neilson *	
President Emeritus, Smith College	1943
William I. Nichols	
Assistant to the Editor of "This Week" Magazine	1939
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr	
Professor of Applied Christianity, Union Theological Seminary	1947
Admiral Chester W. Nimitz	
Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet	1944
Edward J. Noble	
Chairman, The Blue Network Co., Inc.	1944
Rt. Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P.	
Secretary of State for Air, Chairman of the Labor Party	1946
Major General Dennis E. Nolan	
Chief of the United States Intelligence Service during the World War	1938
Alex North	
Composer of music for cantata on the Forum theme, "Morning Star"	1946
Dr. Henry Kittredge Norton	
Author and Authority on International Affairs	1930

	Forum Year
Dr. John K. Norton Chairman, Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education of the National Education Association	1933
Mary T. Norton Chairman, Committee on Labor, House of Representatives	1937
Betty Nuthall Captain, 1939 Wightman Cup Team	1940
Dr. Paul Henry Nystrom Professor of Marketing, Columbia University	1934
John Lord O'Brian Former Head of War Emergency Division, Department of Justice	1939
Charlton Ogburn General Counsel, American Federation of Labor and Affiliated International Unions	1937
Joseph C. O'Mahoney Senator from Wyoming	1939
Sir John Boyd Orr Director General, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization	1946
Major General Frederick H. Osborn Director, Army Service Forces, Information and Education Division	1944
Sergio Osmena President of the Philippine Commonwealth	1945
Ruth Haller Ottaway President, National Council of Women	1936
Constantine Oumansky * Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1937
Ruth Bryan Owen U. S. Minister to Denmark and Iceland	1933
Dr. Saul K. Padover Historian and author, former member Psychological Warfare Division of the U. S. Army in Germany	1945
Judge Joseph A. Padway * Chief Counsel for the American Federation of Labor	1938
William G. Palmer Vice President of J. Walter Thompson Company	1935
Dr. Thomas Parran Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service	1937
Geoffrey Parsons Chief Editorial Writer of the New York Herald Tribune	1939
Geoffrey Parsons, Jr. Editor, European Edition, New York Herald Tribune	1947
Robert P. Patterson Assistant Secretary of War Secretary of War	1940 1945
Dr. Angelo Patri Principal, Public School No. 45, New York City	1930
George T. Peck Public Relations, Committee to Frame a World Constitution	1946
Claude Pepper Senator from Florida	1937
Dr. O. H. Perry Pepper Professor of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania; Chairman, Medical Commission, National Research Council	1943
Frances Perkins Secretary of Labor	1933 1934 1936
H. G. Perkins Vice President and Director of the Kelvinator Corporation	1936
Lena Madesin Phillips Head, National Council of Women President, National Council of Women of the United States President, International Federation of Business and Professional Women	1933 1934 1938
Dr. Walter B. Pitkin Author; Professor of Journalism, Columbia University	1930
L. Welch Pogue Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board	1943
Mrs. Charles Poletti Former President, New York League of Women Voters	1940
Grace Morrison Poole President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1934

	Forum Year
Dean of Stoneleigh College, New Hampshire	1935
Former President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1936
EMILY POST Member, Advisory Council, New York Herald Tribune Institute	1930
COUNT JERZY POTOCKI Polish Ambassador to the United States	1939
HUGH POTTER President, Urban Land Institute	1943
DEAN ROSCOE POUND Dean, Harvard Law School	1933
MRS. JOHN G. PRATT President, Junior Leagues of America	1933
HJALMAR J. PROCOPE Finnish Minister to the United States	1939
LUCIENNE PROSSER President of the Student Government Association of Russell Sage College	1940
DAVID H. MCALPIN PYLE * President, United Hospital Fund of New York	1938
CAPT. ROBERT S. QUACKENBUSH, JR. United States Navy Officer in Charge of Photography on the Staff of Joint Task Force One	1946
MANUEL L. QUEZON * President of the Philippine Commonwealth	1943
COLONEL ROBERT ISHAM RANDOLPH Head of the "Secret Six" of Chicago	1932
SYDNEY RAYNER Tenor, Opera Comique, Paris	1935
THE DOWAGER MARCHIONESS OF READING Chairman, Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defense	1939
MRS. S. G. REDMOND New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs	1930
WHITELAW REID Editor, New York Herald Tribune	1947
PAUL REYNAUD Deputy for Paris; Former Minister of Finances and Vice President of the Council of Ministers	1935
DR. CORNELIUS P. RHOADS Director, Memorial Hospital for the Treatment of Cancer and Allied Diseases	1946
LADY RHONDDA Editor, "Time and Tide"	1934 1935
DR. IVOR A. RICHARDS Director, Commission on English Language Studies, Harvard University	1943
LIEUT. HENRIETTA F. RICHARDSON United States Army Nurse Corps	1943
HERMAN RIED Foreign Born First Voter	1940
FRANK RISING Labor Editor, "Business Week"	1937
FRANCIS ELLIS RIVERS Justice, City Court of New York	1944
COMMANDER THOMAS M. RIVERS, M.C., U.S.N.R. Director of the Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute, on leave of absence	1942
PAUL ROBESON Chairman, Council on African Affairs Actor	1943 1945
DR. GEROID T. ROBINSON Director, Russian Institute, Columbia University; Chief, U. S. S. R. Division, Research and Analysis Branch, Office of Strategic Services	1945
JOSEPHINE ROCHE Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee to Co-ordinate Health and Welfare Activities of the Federal Government	1935 1938
NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER Co-ordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics for the National Defense Council	1940
WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER Chairman, Air Youth of America	1940
COLONEL W. STEWART RODDIE British Veteran of two World Wars	1940
ARTHUR W. ROEBUCK Attorney General and Minister of Labor, Ontario	1934

	Forum Year
Colonel Carlos P. Romulo Minister of Information and Public Relations, Philippine War Cabinet (Reading the speech of Manuel L. Quezon)	1943
Richard W. Roome Interpreting the speech of Paul-Henri Spaak	1946
Franklin D. Roosevelt * 1933-1943 President of the United States	
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-1940 1943
Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. * Former Governor General of the Philippine Islands and of Puerto Rico	1933 1934
Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. (Reading the speech of Madam Chiang Kai-shek)	1939
Oren Root, Jr. Chairman, Associated Willkie Clubs of America Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R.	1940 1944
Dr. Flora Rose Director, College of Home Economics, Cornell University	1932 1936
Dr. Mary Swartz Rose * Head, Nutrition Department, Teachers College, Columbia University	1930
Anna Rosenberg New York Regional Director, War Manpower Commission	1944
Mrs. Frank C. Roth New York State Federation of Women's Clubs	1930
Bidhan Chandra Roy, M.D. Governor Designate, United Provinces of India	1947
Major Francis R. Royal United States Army Air Forces	1943
Dr. Harold Rugg Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University	1933
Colonel Howard A. Rusk Chief, Convalescent Training Division, Office of the Air Surgeon	1944
Ned Russell Chief, London Bureau, New York Herald Tribune	1947
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr. Vice Chairman of the Board, Inland Steel Co.	1939
Leverett Saltonstall Governor of Massachusetts	1942
Julia Sampson Conductor, Choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music	1947
Carl Sandburg Poet and Author	1940 1947
Ruth Sandmann Member, Junior Advisory Council, Youth of All Nations, Inc.	1944
Major General Ilia M. Saraev Military Attaché, Soviet Embassy in Washington	1945
Margherita Sarfatti Italian Feminist and Author	1933
David Sarnoff President, Radio Corporation of America	1935 1936
Francis B. Sayre Assistant Secretary of State	1937
Josephine Schain Chairman, National Committtee on the Cause and Cure of War	1937
Eugene Schoen Architect and Designer	1936
Dr. Frederick L. Schuman Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago	1935
Lewis B. Schwellenbach Secretary of Labor	1945
Violet Sclair Governor, Empire Girls' State	1944
Mrs. John Scott Author	1945
Haile Selassie Emperor of Ethiopia	1945
Captain Boris Sergievsky Vice President of the Helicopter Corporation of America	1939
Major Alexander de Seversky Aviator, Author	1942
Professor Harlow Shapley Director of the Harvard Observatory, Harvard University	1940
Robert Shaw Director, Collegiate Chorale	1943-1947
Very Reverend Francis X. Shea Representing Archbishop Spellman, Military Vicar for the Armed Forces	1942

	Forum Year
VINCENT SHEEAN	
Author and War Correspondent	1946
MOST REVEREND BERNARD J. SHEIL	
Senior Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago	1946
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD	
Playright and Theatrical Producer	1940
Overseas Director, Office of War Information	1943
DR. HU SHIH	
Chinese Ambassador to the United States	1940
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL	
Professor of History, Columbia University	1930
Director, Division of International Relations	1932
Director, Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1933 1934
President, League of Nations Association	1935
DR. HENRY E. SIGERIST	
Director, Institute of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University	1945
IGOR I. SIKORSKY	
Engineering Manager, Sikorsky Aircraft Division of United Aircraft Manufacturing Corporation	1935
DR. ERNEST J. SIMMONS	
Professor of Russian Literature, Cornell University	1945
MARTIAL SINGHER	
Barytone, Metropolitan Opera	1946
PAUL A. SIPLE	
Boy Scout and Chief Biologist with the Byrd Expeditions to Antarctica	1935
CAPTAIN ROBERT C. SKINNER	
U. S. Merchant Marine	1944
MRS. F. LOUIS SLADE	
Former President, League of Women Voters	1930
Vice Chairman, New York League of Women Voters	1933
ALFRED P. SLOAN, JR.	
President, General Motors Corporation	1935
C. R. SMITH	
Former Major General, U. S. Army, now Chairman of the Board, American Airlines, Inc.	1945
LILLIAN SMITH	
Author and Editor	1944
LIEUT. COLONEL T. V. SMITH	
Head of American History, Prisoner-of-War Camp, Ft. Getty, R. I.; Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, on leave	1945
FIELD MARSHAL JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS	
Prime Minister, Union of South Africa	1946
CARL M. SNYDER *	
Manager, General Electric Home Bureau	1936
JOHN W. SNYDER	
Secretary of the Treasury	1947
COLONEL O. N. SOLBERT	
Eastman Kodak Company	1938
LIEUTENANT GENERAL BREHON B. SOMERVELL	
Commander of the Army Service Forces	1944
PAUL-HENRI SPAAK	
President, United Nations General Assembly	1946
KENNETH SPENCER	
Barytone	1944
MRS. WILLIAM DICK SPORBORG	
President, New York State Federation of Women's Clubs; State Director, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1930-1938
SYLVIA SPRIGGE	
Balkan Correspondent "The Manchester Guardian"	1945
JAMES G. STAHLMAN	
President, American Newspaper Publishers' Association	1937
SIR JOSIAH STAMP, G.B.E., K.B.E., O.B.E. *	
Director of the Bank of England	1935
ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. STANDLEY	
United States Ambassador to Russia	1942
DR. LOUISE STANLEY	
Director, Bureau of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture	1930
LLOYD C. STARK	
Governor of Missouri	1939

	Forum Year
HAROLD E. STASSEN	
Governor of Minnesota	1939
Captain, U. S. N. R.	1945
	1947
JOHN STEINBECK	
Special Correspondent, New York Herald Tribune, Moscow Bureau	1947
LIEUTENANT COLONEL MILTON STEINBERG	
Rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue	1942
DORIS STEVENS	
Chairman, Inter-American Commission of Women	1934
DR. C. M. A. STINE	
Vice President, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.	1938
BENJAMIN STOLBERG	
Labor Problems Writer	1939
DR. LILLIAN B. STORMS	
Chairman, Home Economics Women in Business, American Home Economics Association	1934
ANNA LORD STRAUSS	
Vice President, National League of Women Voters	1936
BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE V. STRONG *	
Assistant Chief of Staff of the War Department, War Plans Division	1939
DR. JOHN WARD STUDEBAKER	
United States Commissioner of Education	1935
GAEL SULLIVAN	
Assistant to Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago	1940
JOHN LAWRENCE SULLIVAN	
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States	1942
DR. W. F. G. SWANN	
Director, Bartol Research Foundation of the Franklin Institute	1940
RAYMOND GRAM SWING	
Foreign Correspondent and International Radio Commentator	1937
GERARD SWOPE	
President, General Electric Company; Chairman of the President's Commission on Foreign Industrial Relations	1938
HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE ("Information Please")	
Former Executive Editor "The New York World"	1940
Associate of Bernard M. Baruch, United States Delegate to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	1946
CHARLES P. TAFT	
Lawyer and Labor Conciliator	1936
MRS. ROBERT TAFT	
First President of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters	1940
IDA TARBELL *	
Author	1930
DEEMS TAYLOR ("Information Please")	
Composer, Commentator and Author	1940
FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR	
Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art	1940
DR. GRIFFITH TAYLOR	
Head, Department of Geography, University of Toronto	1943
WALTER DORWIN TEAGUE	
Industrial Designer	1934
MARION TELFORD	
National Congress of Parents and Teachers	1936
SHIRLEY TEMPLE	1938
Motion Picture Actress	1944
GETAHOUN TESEMMA	
Chargé d'Affaires of the Ethiopian Legation (Reading the message of Haile Selassie)	1945
DR. DOUGLAS A. THOM	
Director, Habit Clinics of Boston; Author	1932
JOHN CHARLES THOMAS	
Barytone	1935
LOWELL THOMAS	
Radio Commentator	1937
NORMAN THOMAS	
Socialist Party Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1936
DOROTHY THOMPSON	1934
International Journalist	1935
Special Writer, New York Herald Tribune	1937
	1938
	1940

	Forum Year
Lawrence Tibbett Metropolitan Opera	1934
Commander D. W. Tomlinson Vice President in Charge of Engineering, Transcontinental & Western Air, Inc.	1940
Morris S. Tremaine * Comptroller of the State of New York	1939
Augusta Trimble Member, Liquor Commission, State of Washington	1933
Juan Trippe President, Pan American World Airways	1938 1942
Harry S. Truman President of the United States	1945 1946
C. E. Tucker John Price Jones Publicity Corporation	1930
Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell Former Professor of Economics at Columbia University; Chairman of the New York City Planning Commission	1938
Dr. Arthur R. Upgren Vice President and Economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis	1943
Dr. Alan Valentine President, Rochester University	1940
Leo Valiani Editor in Chief, "Italia Libera," Milan	1945
Arthur H. Vandenberg Senator from Michigan	1937
William H. Vanderbilt Governor of Rhode Island	1939
Carl Van Doren Editor, Literary Guild	1930 1935
Irita Van Doren Editor, "Books," New York Herald Tribune	1930 1932 1933 1934 1935
Dr. H. J. van Mook Cabinet Minister for Overseas Territory; Former Lieutenant Governor of the East Indies	1942
Martha Van Rensselaer * Director, College of Home Economics, Cornell University	1930
Paul Van Zeeland Prime Minister of Belgium	1935
Basil Varberoglou Soldier of Greece	1942
Eduardo Villaseñor Director General, Banco de Mexico	1944
Elizabeth Gray Vining Tutor to the Crown Prince of Japan	1947
Stephen F. Voorhees Chairman, Board of Design, New York World's Fair	1938
Robert F. Wagner Senator from New York	1937
General Jonathan M. Wainwright Commanded the American forces at Bataan and Corregidor	1945
Ralph T. Walker Fellow, American Institute of Architects, and Former President, the New York Chapter	1936
Henry A. Wallace Secretary of Agriculture Vice President of the United States	1936 1937 1943
Robert Wallace Governor, Empire Boys' State	1944
Hugh Walpole * English Novelist	1934
Barbara Ward Foreign Editor, "The Economist" of London	1947
Dr. Stafford L. Warren Professor of Radiology, College of Medicine and Dentistry, University of Rochester	1946
Lewis W. Waters * Vice President in Charge of Research and Development, General Foods Corporation	1938
Jacqueline Adele Watkins University of California	1933
Thomas J. Watson Chairman, American Committee International Chamber of Commerce; President and Director, International Business Machines Corporation	1935
Robert J. Watt * International Representative of the American Federation of Labor	1942

	Forum Year
Dr. Chaim Weizmann Scientist-Statesman	1947
Orson Welles Actor and Producer	1944
Sumner Welles Under Secretary of State	1942
Reinald Werrenrath Barytone	1937
Grover A. Whalen President, New York World's Fair	1938
Earlene White President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women	1937
Howard L. White Society Editor, New York Herald Tribune	1930
Dr. William A. White * Director, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.	1932
Claude R. Wickard Secretary of Agriculture	1942
Wilhelmina Queen of The Netherlands	1942
Aubrey Williams Deputy Works Progress Administrator	1936
Charl Ormond Williams President, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs	1935 1936
Lieut. Griff Williams In charge, Band Music and Entertainment Division, Great Lakes Naval Training Station	1945
Mack Williams Former Mayor, Boys' Brotherhood Republic	1937
Simeon S. Willis Governor-Elect of Kentucky	1943
Wendell L. Willkie * President, Commonwealth and Southern Corporation Republican Nominee for the Presidency of the United States	1938 1940 1942 1943
Captain Gill Robb Wilson Aviation Editor, New York Herald Tribune	1944
Dr. Robert E. Wilson President, Pan American Petroleum and Transport Company	1939
John G. Winant Governor of New Hampshire Chairman, National Social Security Board American Director, International Labor Office, London Former United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James's	1932 1933 1935 1938 1947
Harry A. Winne Vice President, General Electric Company, in charge of Engineering Policy	1946
Mrs. Thomas G. Winter * Public Relations, Association Motion Picture Producers; Past President, General Federation of Women's Clubs	1935
Harris L. Wofford, Jr. Air Trainee, Army Air Forces, and Founder of Student Federalists	1944
Matthew Woll Vice President, American Federation of Labor	1939
Dr. Francis Carter Wood Director, Crocker Institute for Cancer Research at Columbia University	1939
General Robert E. Wood Member of the War Resources Board	1939
Colonel Arthur Woods * Chairman, Emergency Committee for Employment	1930
Dr. Mary E. Woolley * President, Mount Holyoke College	1932 1933
Frank Lloyd Wright Architect	1946
Frau Mathilde Wurm * Former Member of the Reichstag	1934
Rear Admiral Harry E. Yarnell Former Commander of the Asiatic Fleet	1940
Collier Young Writer; contributor to "World Peaceways"	1937
Owen D. Young Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company	1932
Wolf Dieter Zander German Prisoner of War from Fort Getty, R. I.	1945

*Deceased.

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